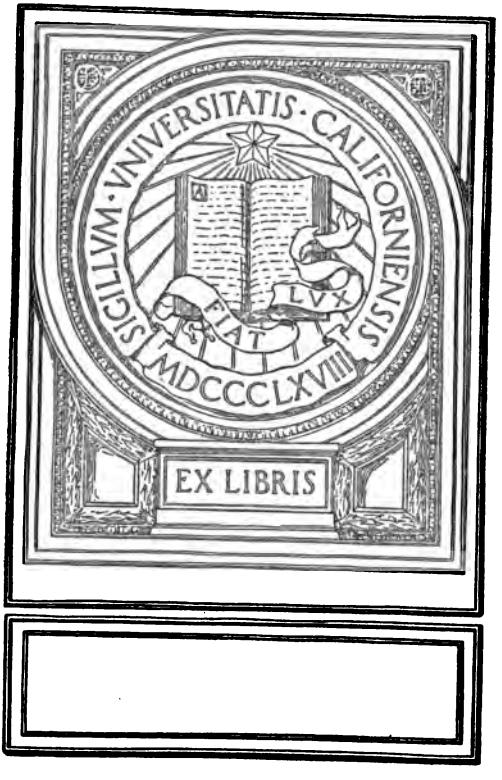

First Edition.

Pro-Slavery argument of the South before the civil war.

Sinclair.

RECREATIONS

OF

A Southern Barrister.

[Sands, Alexander Hamilton]

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY REV. T. G. JONES.

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CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

It has been for some time the fashion to collect and publish in book form the best articles of our ablest and most respectable Reviews. We like the fashion. Many of these articles are the best productions of the finest minds of the age—the ripest scholars, the profoundest thinkers, the ablest representatives of the bar, the bench, and the pulpit, as well as the most distinguished men of science and of general literature.

No kind of reading has seemed to us better adapted to improve the taste, enlighten and enlarge the views, adorn and furnish the whole mental structure, than that supplied by the better class of essayists and critical reviewers. We are aware that it has been thought by some that this kind of reading tended to a mere smattering and superficiality of knowledge. And doubtless it is true that not a few readers of reviews are superficial smatterers, and nothing more. But we should be slow to think that their review-reading made them such. We suspect that without it they would have been more meagre and superficial still. So far are we from conceding the injurious influence suggested, that we are ready to declare our conviction that judicious reading of reviews is of the very opposite tendency. Were one, indeed, to read nothing else, provided he read deeply and understandingly, he would be wanting in neither depth nor breadth of intelligence. For as we have already intimated, the best reviews often embrace and embody the best results of the best efforts of the best minds of the age—the products of their richest and ripest scholarship, maturest thought, deepest reading, most thorough research, all condensed, severely condensed, and brought within the briefest possible space, and thus presented most advantageously, *multum in parvo*, to the intelligent and competent reader. A good review gives to the reader the very kernel of the work, (whether of philosophy, art, science, or general literature,) reviewed—the kernel stripped of the shell, which the able and experienced reviewer has learned to take away with a facility to which his unpracticed reader is a stranger. And in doing this, it often also gives, in intense and nervous style, the very quintessence of the reviewer's own genius and attainments—the distillation and crystalization, as it were, of his very intellect and heart.

More than this, the review of the book often leads to the book itself, interests one in its author, and introduces him, perhaps, to an intimate acquaintance with all his works. To the dull and sluggish mind it proves stimulant and inspiring, exciting deeply and abidingly, it may be, its interest in great principles discussed, and inciting it to a farther and fuller consideration of those principles than the reviewer or essayist himself had given them. Practical questions, too, of every-day interest and importance, which, as well as great abstract principles and propositions, it is the province of the reviewer to consider, are often made to appear in new and striking lights, to take hold of the mind with unwonted force, and thus to enkindle its ardour and arouse its energies. Sometimes a clue, that might never otherwise be furnished, is given to a wide and wondrous labyrinth of thought and speculation; and thus the active and inquiring mind, ardent and adventurous, is led forward in a career of the noblest explorations. By "a word fitly spoken," by some new light shed in the glow of earnest thought and fervid conception—the reviewer "shining," as Robert Hall said of Dr. Johnson, "upon the angle of a thought," some great and glorious many-angled thought—the intellect addressed, is led, it may be, into the widest and richest realms of study and of contemplation, where exhaustless treasures, and honours immortal, await its coming.

Thus would it seem that review-reading, elevating and enlarging the conceptions, giving greater range of thought, greater extent of view in every direction, greater scope and compass to all the leading powers and functions of the mind, so far from having an essential tendency to superficiality, tends to depth as well as breadth of knowledge and of thought.

In our age, and especially in our country, to save the people not from superficiality, but from almost utter ignorance with respect to many matters of the very last importance, reviews would seem to be indispensable. They appear to have been brought into being by the very necessities of the times. Everybody goes by steam. Everything is hurry, bustle, confusion. Men in general, unlike their leisurely ancestors, who could not only afford *to read* ponderous folios and quartos, as well as less ponderous octavos, but *to write* them, and to meditate almost unbrokenly for long days, and nights, and years, upon some favourite topic, have neither opportunity of *time* nor *place*, whatever their ability or disposition, to read much, or to meditate deeply and long. They must do these things, to a considerable extent; at least, if they do them at all, by proxy. While they do *hand-work* for others, others must do *head-work* for them. While they mind the material machinery

of the world, hold the helm of the vessel and the handle of the plough; fuel the fires of the furnace and lubricate the lathe of the factory, fell the primeval forest, and build up great cities in its solitudes, while they construct railways and canals, steam-ships and steam-mills, hew wood and draw water—while they, in a word, by their husbandry and handicraft supply literary men with the necessaries and comforts of the physical life, the bread of the mere corporeal being, these men of literature must furnish them with the necessaries and comforts of the spiritual and higher life, the bread of the intellectual and moral being. Now the vocation of these latter, in part, at least, is that of the essayists and critical reviewers. And when true to their high mission, they constitute one of the worthiest and most important portions of the social organism. Honor to them! Earnest, honest, fearless, able—while truly kind-hearted, appreciative, and genial, yet strong-minded and strong-hearted—not afraid of even the famous motto of the old Edinburgh—"*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur.*" Men who while not on the one hand arrogating the power and authority of censors of the press; nor, on the other, assuming the poor and pitiable office of undiscriminating eulogists and loose laudators of everybody and everything that appears in print, still keep an open, ever-watchful eye upon the immense and multifarious issues of the press, the "many books," of "making" which, in our time as in that of Solomon's, "there is no end," scanning and scrutinizing them closely and severely, "gathering the good" together, and casting the "bad away," giving the results of their labours to their less leisurable neighbours—in highest, shrillest notes sounding the alarm against error, heresy, treason; in clarion tones applauding and commending the loyal, the good, and the true. Men who sit at the entrance of the sacred grove of knowledge, its true and incorruptible guardians, opening its portals to every worthy worshipper, admitting him to the inmost sanctuary, and the holiest shrine; but repelling the irreverent and profane intruder, and closing against him the gates forever.

"Procul, O procul, este profani!
Conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco!"

We are, then, in favour of the Reviews. We think all, the young especially, may read them with the highest profit, and without the slightest reason to fear that they will thus be made superficial smatterers. And we are happy to be able to enforce our own commendation of this class of reading, by the great name of Foster, who while him-

self an omnivorous reader of Reviews, as well as a constant contributor to them, was at the same time, so far from being superficial as almost to deserve the title of the Thinker of his times. That unrivalled essayist, after having spoken of "a deluge of new entertainment rushing upon him in the form of the Edinburgh Review," (for a whole set of which he had a short time before "written to Paternoster Row,") called it a "terrible Review," which he read "with abhorrence of its tendencies as to religion, but with admiration of everything else," and saying that it could "not fail to have a very great effect upon the literary world, by imperiously requiring a high style of intellectual performance, and setting the example," writes to his friend, the Rev. Joseph Hughes—"It may not seem very consistent, after this, to insist that you must have this work, from the beginning; and so must, or ought, every other intellectual and literary man. He cannot pretend to have a competent library without it."*

Rich and varied as is our literature, it would suffer, in all its departments, a deep impoverishment, in the loss of its Reviews. From those invaluable productions of gifted and cultivated intellect, which "posterity will not willingly let die," scarcely would any be more missed than those which bear the image and superscription of certain celebrated Essayists and Reviewers. Indeed, one of the heaviest calamities that could befall English literature, would be the loss, from its commencement, of that one Review alone, so highly commended by John Foster. With it would perish the nervous and caustic critiques of Lord Jeffrey, the magnificent essays of Macaulay; the sparkling wit and racy humor of Sidney Smith; the ponderous philosophic thought, strong and glowing scientific statement of Lord Brougham; the easy elegance, the captivating grace, the pure sentiment, the elevated conception of Sir James Stephen—to say nothing of the occasional, but invaluable contributions of other and scarcely inferior names.

To the important class of writings, of which we have just been speaking, the articles of which the present volume is composed belong. And in this class we think they deserve to take a highly honorable position. The author's subjects all seem to us well chosen; a matter, by the way, always of the very greatest moment both to the reader and the writer, insuring the pleasure and profit of the former, and, as in the case of many an immortal author, the fortune, often, of the latter; a matter, too, not as some would seem to suppose, of chance, but of sound judgment, correct taste, proper mental and moral *affinities* and

* Life and Correspondence of John Foster, by J. E. Ryland, p. 125.

habitudes, as well as other indefinable felicities in union with propitious but perhaps scarcely appreciable outward circumstances and relations. Several of the essays, those particularly, in which he discusses American Slavery, American Citizenship, and Christianity in the Legal Profession, seem to us to involve questions of paramount social and political, ethical and religious importance—questions, too, which many of those who may become his readers, doubtless find constantly coming up for practical solution. Some of these, discussed with no parade of argument or pomp of language, are treated with great simplicity, clearness, and strength. We think every reader will agree with us that he sets forth with remarkable perspicacity and force, the true constitutional and governmental theory upon which are based the rights and duties of American Citizenship. He has managed, too, to treat the perplexed and perplexing subject of Slavery, in the clearest and most convincing manner. And we cannot but hope, on this account, if on no other, that his book may fall into the hands of the many well meaning, but somewhat morbidly conscientious and sensitive Christian people, who are often greatly puzzled and embarrassed by certain moral and religious aspects which slavery is made to assume. We do not see how any unprejudiced and dispassionate reader, after attentively considering the cogent arguments and striking illustrations which he has furnished, in connection with his well selected quotations from the authors under review, can fail to accept the conclusions which he reaches. While not designing to forestall the enlightened reader's own judgment and taste in the premises, or in any wise to detract from other portions of the book, we trust we shall be pardoned if we say that we think those portions in which are contained the discussions just alluded to, will be found of especial interest and value. Other essays of the volume, pertaining to the realm of poetry and light literature, impart an agreeable variety, and relieve the tension of thought demanded by the severer and weightier discussions of the author.

It does not need the light shed by the title page, to enable the reader to identify the author as a Southerner and a Barrister. Both are prominent on many of his pages. As it should be, his *amor patriæ* as a Southerner is ardent and strong—and it often finds for itself expression. In his treatment of the "peculiar institution," especially, does it declare itself. But there is, withal, an enlargement of view, a breadth and generosity of sentiment, really refreshing and hope-inspiring in these dark days of a narrow and selfish sectionalism. Though the South is clearly his "first love," his patrial feeling grows too expansive to be bounded by it. Passing the barriers of States and sections,

it embraces the whole Confederacy, and becomes American. His *esprit de corps* as a lawyer, is equally marked. And this, too, we sincerely respect and cordially commend. No one ought to be a lawyer, or anything else, who is not proud of it. If there is any good and sufficient reason for one's not feeling an honourable pride in his profession, he should abandon it. If there be no such reason, and he yet have no such pride, then he will never honour his vocation, and it will never honour him. They will mutually disgrace each other. And if he will not abandon it, then it should abandon him—as we believe Themis often does many an unworthy votary, leaving him without "*a local habitation*," or "*a name*," clientless, briefless, penniless.

But not only in the spirit of the barrister, but in *the manner* also, does our author show the class of intellectual workers to which he belongs. He displays the skill and ingenuity as well as the clearness and strength of statement characteristic of the well-trained lawyer. His facts and incidents, arguments and illustrations are arranged and marshalled with great ostensible simplicity, but always with a keen discriminating view to the effect. In a quiet, easy, off-hand, half-intuitive way, (which because of its very ease and quietness, by many would be unobserved,) he fastens upon both the strong and the weak points of the subject under review. And then with similar facility and freedom from display, he presses them into his service. He fitly calls his essays "Recreations;" for, however valuable, they do not seem to have cost him any very great exertion. There is no apparent friction of the powers, no jarring and creaking of machinery, no painful and destructive "wear and tear." All is easy, pretentionless, practical, plain.

The author's "Christianity," too, is as conspicuous and prominent as his "Legal Profession." Some have thought that the two could not "dwell together in unity." He seems to us to have given in his book a double demonstration of the fallacy of that opinion. However discordant and antagonistic in the theory, and especially *the practice*, of some others, in his they would seem most happily to harmonize. So far from considering the one as essentially and necessarily hostile to the other, he rather regards them as really in the strictest and most beautiful accord. Both having to do essentially with *law*—law whose "seat is the bosom of God, and whose voice is the harmony of the world," it were strange, indeed, if they should be discordant and necessarily repellant of each other. The author's Christianity is exhibited, we will not say in honesty and fairness, truthfulness and candour, as a critic—for men of very little Christianity, have sometimes, in

even an eminent degree, displayed these qualities—but, (to say nothing of his frequent and strong expressions directly or indirectly made upon the subject,) in a certain very manifest *charity* as well as conscientiousness of thought, sentiment, and allusion; strictness of statement, moderation of language, mildness of manner, indicative of self-denial; (temptations to the exhibition of very different qualities being, in numerous instances, by no means wanting;) and above all, in a certain elevation of sentiment and softness of tone eminently becoming the disciple and follower of the meek man of Nazareth, who, while not withholding from the haughty Scribe and the self-righteous Pharisee intense and burning denunciation, when truth and justice, the interest of man and the authority of God, demanded it, yet beautifully fulfilled, in its true sense and spirit the prediction,

> "He shall not strive nor cry,
> Neither shall any man hear his voice in the streets;
> A bruised reed shall he not break,
> And smoking flax shall he not quench."

We do not doubt that with the high moral qualities which we have just now mentioned, the original and native character has often much to do. But still there is something about them in their fullest and best development, which marks a higher source. The essay on Chatterton,

> "The marvellous boy,
> The sleepless soul that perished in his pride,"

while it shows the native sympathy of the author's heart ever prompting him to side with the weak and the unfortunate, rather than with the prosperous and the strong, also furnishes striking illustration of that moral and religious tone to which, as characteristic, we have called attention.

Extended as our introductory notice already is, we cannot consent to close it without a few words in respect to the style of the book. Easy, unaffected, perspicuous, natural, there is no straining after mere verbal and lingual effect—no effort at the "brilliant," and the "splendid." There are no pretty conceits—no abortive attempts at the witty, the humorous, and the epigrammatic. None of these things, and things similar, which have ever been the bane of review-writing. Whatever positive excellencies of style the author may want, whatever the literary crimes and misdemeanors with which he may be chargeable, we cannot refrain from congratulating him warmly upon his freedom

from the vices, the crying sins, of style, which we have just indicated. With him language is what language was designed to be, *a means* and not *an end*—the vehicle, and nothing more, of the sentiment and the thought. When we read some of our fine writers of the Hervey or Headley, Phillips or Gilfillan type, we cannot, if we try, look aside from their language more than we can from the mists and clouds which sometimes burden and darken the air. In reading our author, however, his language is forgotten. There is something beyond it, for which we are looking, that engages and absorbs our attention. He expresses himself in a direct, plain, practical way, never being afraid as so many with weak and sickly taste would seem to be, to close a sentence with the particle "to" or "at," or any other, that, coming at his call, pleases him. He uses language as he does his facts and arguments in a perfectly business-like manner, just as we might suppose he would in a legal case, employ the evidence upon which he relied to sustain his cause. His style is the clear and transparent atmosphere of his mind through which, bright and distinctly defined, appear its stars of sentiment and thought, unattended by any of those hazy splendours which hang around the horizon of so many minds.

Having said thus much—more, perhaps, than we should have said,—we now cordially commend to the reader's regard as both pleasant and profitable, the "Recreations of a Southern Barrister."

THOMAS CHATTERTON.*

In one of his Imaginary Conversations, Landor discourses upon the disinclination manifested on the part of contemporaries to render to men of genius the honors justly due them. The fact is universal, and has been frequently referred to. Contemporary judgments and the judgment of posterity so frequently and so widely differ, that we are not authorized, from the possession of present reputation, even to infer the probable guaranty of future fame. The rule would seem to be just the reverse: that the present and the future are at such discord that he who would secure the favors of the present must consent, in large part, to relinquish the honors of the future. But for the obscurity of the shell, the pearl would never have ripened; and all the fame (properly so called) which is worth the having has been strictly posthumous—chiefly the fruit of present obscurity and toil.

The career of the wonderful Chatterton forms no exception to this rule. While he had won notoriety during his life; while his name had been remarked as an example of extraordinary precocity of intellect—and, too, of depravity—he has become famous, if at all, since his body was

* *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton;* with notices of his life; a history of the Rowley controversy; a selection of his letters; notes critical and explanatory, and a glossary. In two volumes. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1857.

interred in the pauper's graveyard, in Shoe Lane, London! That time will vindicate the judgment of Southey, and condemn the strictures of Chalmers and the prophecy of Foster, is, we think, beyond question. A century has nearly elapsed since he has run his race; but it has not diminished, it has rather increased the interest which was first discovered in his career, and awakened by the fruits of his splendid genius.

In the study of his life, we know not which most to admire: the splendor of his intellectual powers, his wonderful and rapid attainments in almost every department of thought and walk of science, the waywardness of his course, or the steady and persevering attachment, exhibited under the most trying discouragements, to the mythic personage his fancy had created. Rowley was his other self—with all of his genius, and but few if any of his foibles; and to the hour of his death, Chatterton asserted and maintained the genius of the priest at the expense of his own.

Chatterton's life has been the theme of almost innumerable sketches, and the sober work of half a score of biographies. They have all failed in meeting the want expressed by Walter Scott, a half century ago. The life and character of the poet has never been drawn "by the hand of a master." While the lives written by Dix and Gregory, and even that of Chalmers, furnished useful hints and facts in the history of Chatterton, and for these reasons are to be commended, yet they all leave unsolved the mystery which his life presents. By one he has been described as very nearly approaching a demon. Another has painted him as almost a saint. His latest biographer, whose work prefixes this edition and the Cambridge edition of his poems, has attempted to hit the golden mean, and

in doing so presents us with a piece of patchwork, in the style of the Turkey carpet. In the compass of a dozen pages, in the way of foot-notes to the poems, we meet with the fierce criticism of Foster, the glowing eulogies of Southey, and the moderate and justly-balanced judgments of Scott. In the biography proper, the writer one moment recommends the poet to mercy, on account of his youth; and the next, startles us by the declaration that Chatterton's "moral nature was essentially manly," and that "his faults were all the growth of a strong and vigorous heart and of a searching and masculine intellect." Either may be true; but is it probable that they are both true? Chatterton, with the biographer, is also religious, and his piety too is after the manner of Shelley! whom, in apparent sincerity, the biographer declares "to have been the most religious of all men!" Heaven forefend us! Mr. Wilcox, the reputed author of the narrative we now refer to, must have contracted a fondness for the marvellous and striking by the study of our poet, or else he has aspired to imitate him as a practical jester, when he makes such a declaration as this. He feels that he is giving utterance to no commonly cherished opinion in thus canonizing Shelley! Hence he adds: "There are many who cannot understand this, and to such will offence come. These see, not with the eye of faith, but with the fleshly vision only." The good priest, Thomas Rowleie, would hardly have sanctioned such a sentiment as this.

Chatterton was born on the 20th November, 1752, in the city of Bristol. His parentage was humble. His father was at one time writing-usher to a classical school, and afterwards a chorister in Bristol Cathedral. He was still chorister when he died, in August, 1752; and he had held, in conjunction, the office of head-master in Bristol

free school. He was a man, so the biographer informs us, "of dissipated habits and of a brutal disposition." Chatterton's mother is said to have exhibited some of the traits which subsequently distinguished her unhappy son. She was of a melancholy disposition, of mild and amiable qualities, and most devotedly attached to her children. In Chatterton's character there was the blending of the two—the pride, and, in some measure, the dissipation of the father, and the kindness, occasional melancholy, and affection of the mother. Up to the fifth year of his age, Chatterton was no prodigy. If remarkable for any thing, he was remarkable for dulness and stupidity, "receiving into his apparently obtuse skull no portion of the luminous instruction which the pedagogue of a free school could be supposed to impart." It was feared he would prove an incorrigible dunce. Chance, however, awoke his slumbering genius, and an illuminated French musical manuscript proved an apter teacher than mother or pedagogue. The boy "fell in love" with it, says his mother; and having thus got into the mysteries of the alphabet, he began to read. This manuscript, together with a black-letter Bible, completely metamorphosed the dull boy into an apt scholar. Poetry and black-letter! We may read in the juxtaposition the character of the future creator of Rowley. Would that we could also discover a significance in the holy writings which were his earliest mental exercise. Doubtless they moulded the intellectual and gave a tinge to the emotional character of the reader; yet we shall discover but very slight traces of their influence in his future career. Chatterton's intellectual development begins at this period. He becomes a rapacious reader, and devours with avidity all that he can reach. His ambition and pride grow with his expanding genius. A characteristic anecdote is told

of him at this time, illustrating the maturity of both: An artificer desired to carve a design on a cup as a present for him. He asked what design would suit him. "Paint me," said the boy, "paint me an angel, with wings, and a trumpet to trumpet my name over the world!" Probably urged on by this insatiate desire for notoriety, as well as the natural stimulus and thirst for knowledge which the mental excitement created by reading superinduced, the boy continued to grow into habits of study and thought, shutting himself in his little garret when at home, or taking long and out-of-the-way strolls, with his books under his arm, and not returning for hours. Once he was chastised for his long absence. His manly spirit forbade his shedding a tear. He merely said, "It was hard, indeed, to be whipped for reading."

But one thing more was needed to complete the character of the severe student and youthful antiquary, and that was supplied by the proximity of his mother's residence to St. Mary Redcliffe Church. This ancient church had stood now nearly three hundred years, and was as remarkable for the magnificence of its structure as for its antiquity and venerableness. It abounded in long, dim aisles and noble arches, reaching to almost illimitable dimensions. There was the tomb of worthy Mastre Canynge, the founder, or at least the rebuilder, of the noble pile, and the patron genius of the Mr. Thomas Rowleie, whose curious and recondite manuscripts had lain for four centuries and upwards buried in a chest in the muniment room in the church.[1] This chest had six keys to it, and was not disturbed until the father of the poet had plundered the parchments on which they were written to cover copy-books in his useful vocation of usher to the Bristol school! Chatterton, in one of his letters, gives a description of the venerable edifice, in at-

tempting a panegyric on an artist in music: "Step into Redcliffe Church; look at the noble arches; observe the symmetry, the regularity of the whole: how amazing must that idea be which can comprehend at once all that magnificence of architecture. Do not examine one particular beauty or dwell upon it minutely; take [in] the astonishing whole, and then think that what the architect of that pile was in building, Allen is in music." The ancestors of Chatterton had filled the office of sexton to this church for upwards of one hundred and fifty years. At this time, his uncle held the position, and Chatterton had free access to the several parts of the building. Here he most resorted and chiefly spent his hours, seated upon the tomb of Canynge, whose character and career he was subsequently to perpetuate. Here doubtless dawned upon him the conception of the Rowley manuscripts; not in very truth drawn from the dim cloisters of the hoary structure, but generated and produced in the mind of the youthful student and worshipper of her antique walls and crumbling monuments. One name, at least, he would rescue from the jaws of devouring time and embalm in never-dying song.

In August, 1760, Chatterton was admitted to the charity school at Bristol. He soon became disgusted with it. They taught him nothing but the ordinary branches of the commonest English education. He complained that they had not books enough there. But one tender association is connected with this school. The usher was a poet, and had a taste for history. A firm attachment sprung up between him and Chatterton. The usher's fame in writing verses raised in the school hosts of rivals; but, strange to say, we are informed by one of Chatterton's contemporaries, it never aroused the emulation of the poet. In an elegy, published among his acknowledged poems, Chatterton be-

moans this "friend to genius, sciences, and the arts." He had few faster friends, or more faithful monitors and advancers of his wayward early genius, than Thomas Phillips, the usher of Bristol charity school. Not many notable matters can be discovered in the life of our poet. He remained at the Bristol school nearly six years, when he was taken and apprenticed to one Lambert, an attorney, of little practice and of a prosaic and passionate temper. Up to his leaving Bristol for London, these were the only changes in his condition worthy of note.

The earliest production of Chatterton's muse, strangely enough for a boy of such parts and industry, does not exhibit remarkable precocity. It was a set of verses on the last Epiphany, written at the time of his confirmation, in the tenth year of his age:

"ON THE LAST EPIPHANY, OR CHRIST COMING TO JUDGMENT."

"Behold, just coming from above,
The Judge, with majesty and love!
The sky divides and rolls away,
T' admit him through the realms of day.
The sun, astonished, hides its face;
The moon and stars with wonder gaze
At Jesu's bright superior rays!
Dread lightnings flash, and thunders roar,
And shake the earth and briny shore;
The trumpet sounds at Heaven's command,
And pierceth through the sea and land.
The dead in each now hear the voice;
The sinners fear and saints rejoice;
For now the awful hour is come,
When every tenant of the tomb
Must rise and take his everlasting doom!"

We scarcely discover here the flutterings even of the unfledged eaglet. "From the time he began to learn,

(writes Chatterton's sister,) he had been gloomy; but he became more cheerful when he began to write poetry. Some satirical pieces we saw soon after." His first satirical poem, though its authorship has been questioned, written at eleven years of age, betrays more maturity and power, though still sadly deficient in the spirit, and much more in the pathos, of the future Rowley. The poem was occasioned by the order of a churchwarden to level a graveyard, of which he had the care. Except as an indication of the growth of the poet's mind, and of his early tendency to satire and invective, it would be hardly worthy of mention. It is entitled,

"THE CHURCHWARDEN AND THE APPARITION."

"The night was cold, the wind was high,
And stars bespangled all the sky;
Churchwarden J. E. had laid him down,
And slept secure on bed of down.
But still the pleasing hope of gain,
That never left his active brain,
Exposed his churchyard to his view—
That seat of treasure wholly new.
"Pull down that cross!" he quickly cried.
The mason instantly complied;
When lo! behold the golden prize
Appears!—joy sparkles in his eyes.
The door now creaks—the window shakes;
With sudden fear he starts and wakes!
Quaking and pale, in eager haste,
His haggard eyes around he cast.
A ghastly phantom, lean and wan,
That instant rose and thus began:
'Weak wretch! to think to blind my eyes!
Hypocrisy's a thin disguise.
Your humble mien and fawning tongue
Have oft deceived the old and young:
On this side now, and now on that--

The very emblem of the bat—
Whatever part you take, we know
'Tis only interest makes it so;
And though with sacred zeal you burn,
Religion's only for your turn.
I'm Conscience called!' J. E. greatly feared.
The lightning flashed—it disappeared."

Chatterton's literary career, proper, began with the production of the De Bergham Pedigree. The story is familiar. Bergum was a Bristol pewterer, who had, as his ancestors before him, followed in peace and quietness the lucrative calling which had sustained the family of Bergums from time immemorial. Our pewterer was a vain, credulous man—too happy in the belief that some former sire had distinguished the name to inquire too closely into the authenticity of the fact. He was a fit subject for Chatterton's skill. One day the boy brought to his friend, Bergum, a document with odd-sounding names and magnificent titles, which he declared was the De Bergham pedigree to the time of William the conqueror; tracing the origin of the pewterer from the daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, Northampton and Huntington! Such suddenness of fortune bewildered his intellects. He rewarded the youthful antiquary by the present of five shillings, and probably forgot to inquire how and when Chatterton came by it, and where the original had been discovered. The trick was altogether successful; and success emboldened a second achievment, more remarkable than the first. A fortnight afterwards, the discoverer produced "a continuation of the account of the Bergham family," (down to within a safe distance of the pewterer's recollection.) In this second pedigree, "collected, as the former, from original records, tournament rolls, and the heralds of march and garter records," he is assured that one of his

progenitors was the greatest ornament of his age, and an undoubted son of Parnassus; and that John De Bergham, this poetical ancestor, a partial list of whose works is given, was the author of the "Romaunte of the Cnyghte," which he produces in its original form, in token of the genius of the author, and translates into modern English for the use of his less learned descendant. These poems are printed with this collection. Bergum did not question the authenticity of the pedigree or poem, but preserved them with care; and it is said that several years after Chatterton's death, fired by the desire to imitate his ancestors, he made a trip to London, and laid before the heralds of march and garter this pedigree of the De Bergham family. His mission was fruitless. He found his judges inexorable. They would not acknowledge his title to knighthood. He retired to his native Bristol again, to carry on the business of a pewterer, to cheat his partner, and to forget his dreaming of ancestral glory. The heir of the house of Bergum had probably omitted to question the discoverer of the pedigree where he had found it. It would have been fortunate for the author if he had always met with subjects so easy of faith in the marvellous.

The true date of the origin of the Rowley poems has never been ascertained. Whether Chatterton began to write them before or after being articled to Lambert is not known. It is probable they had been commenced before, and were in some process of completion when the poet took upon himself the duties of an attorney's apprentice. It was, we imagine, however, chiefly done while he remained with Lambert. While there, he was frequently employed in making verse, and on more than one occasion put his master into an ill-temper on account of it. His master, he complained, was "continually insulting him, and making

his life miserable, tearing up and destroying his compositions, and annoying him with coarse and contemptuous allusions;" and this though the apprentice discharged faithfully his duties, and had beside shown some desire to master the mysteries of legal documents by the preparation of a folio book of law-forms and precedents, of three hundred and odd closely written pages! His companions, meanwhile, in Lambert's office were vulgar and illiterate menials, incapable of appreciating his employments, and only fit to act in the capacity of spies upon his conduct; in which honorable office his master did not scruple to employ them. No wonder the boy grew disgusted with such a life, and longed for greater freedom! He spent his evenings at home with his mother and sister, and at ten would retire to his lodging at Lambert's. It is no slight commendation of his life in Bristol to say, that Lambert himself, with such opportunities of detection if Chatterton had indulged in dissipated habits, bore testimony to his exemplary conduct.

Chatterton was at Lambert's when the first public display of an antiquarian taste was given. The old bridge which had spanned the river near Bristol for centuries had been displaced, and a new one constructed in its stead. It was determined to celebrate with due honors the day on which it was first opened to the public. The ceremony passed off well and happily. Chatterton's genius greedily seized hold of the occasion to exhibit itself in an account of the ceremonies observed at the opening of the old bridge which had just been demolished. In Felix Farley's Bristol Journal it appeared, and purported to have been taken from an old manuscript.

"Mr. Printer:—The following description of the Mayor's first pass-

ing over the old bridge, taken from an old manuscript, may not (at this time) be unacceptable to the generality of your readers.

Yours, etc., DUNHELMUS BRISTOLIENSIS."

"On Fridaie was the time fixed for passing the newe Brydge: Aboute the time of the tollynge the tenth Clock, Master Greggorie Delbenye mounted on a Fergreyne Horse, enformed Master Mayor all thyngs were prepared; whan two Beadils want fyrst streyng fresh stre, next came a manne dressed vp as follows—Hose of goatskyn, crinepart outwards, Doublet and Wayscoat also, over which a white Robe without sleeves, much like an albe, but not so long, reeching but to his Lends; a Girdle of Azure over his left shoulder, reeched alse to his Lends on the ryght, and doubled back to his Left, bucklyng with a Goaldin Buckel, dangled to his knee; thereby representyng a Saxon Elderman. In his hand he bare a shield, the maystrie of Gill a Brogton, who paincted the same representyng Saincte Warburgh crossyng the Ford. Then a mickle strong manne, in armour, carried a huge anlace, after whom came Six Claryons and Six Minstrels, who sang the song of Saincte Warburgh; then came Master Maior, mounted on a white Horse, dight with sable trappyngs, wrought about by the Nunnes of Saincte Denna, with Gould and Silver; his Hayr brayded with Ribbons, and a Chaperon, with the auntient arms of Brystowe fastende on his forehead. Master Maior bare in his Hande a Gouldin Rodde, and a congean Squier bare in his Hande, his Helmet, walking by the Syde of the Horse: than came the Eldermen and Cittie Broders mounted on Sable Horses, dyght with white trappyngs an Plumes, and scarlet Copes and Chapeons, having thereon sable Plumes; after them, the Preests and Freeres, Parysh, Mendicaunt and Secular, some Syngyng and others some Citrialles. In thilk manner reechyng the Brydge, the Manne with the anlace strode on the fyrst Top of a Mound yreed in the midst of the Brydge; then want up the Manne with the Sheelde, after him the Ministrels and Clarions. And then the Preestes and Freeres, all in white albs, makyng a most goodlie Shewe; the Maior and Aldermen standyng round, theie sang with the Sound of Clarions, the Song of Saincte Baldwyn; which beyng done, the Manne on the Toppe threwe with greet myght his Anlace into the see, and the Clarions sounded an auntiant Charge and Forloyn. Then theie sang againe the song of Saincte Warburgh, and proceeded up Chryst's hill, to the cross, where a Latin Sermon was preeched by Ralph de Blundeville. And with sound of clarion theie agayne went to the Brydge, and there dined, Spendyng the rest of the daie in Sportes and Plaies, the Freers of Saincte Augustine doeyng the

Plaie of the Knyghtes of Bristowe, and makyng a great fire at night on Kynwulph Hyll."

Bristol was agog with excitement. In the language of the biographer:

"The Journal office was besieged. Where was the original manuscript? Who was the Transcriber? Who the fortunate discoverer? Where, too, was it discovered? Amongst what cobwebs had it reposed for centuries! and what spiders had spun the cobwebs? Rapidly the interesting number was bought up; the description flew from mouth to mouth, intersecting broadways and byelanes, while the real author—the ex-charity boy—young Thomas Chatterton, sat silently laughing in his sleeve upon his stool in Mr. Lambert's office."

So successful a brochure had not disturbed the quiet citizens of Bristol from the time the worthy mayor had taken part in the ceremonies of passing the first bridge, by singing to the sound of clarions the "song of Saincte Baldwyn." The copy of *Dunhelmus Bristoliensis* was scanned and preserved, and its characters noted. Chatterton was never entirely successful in his practical jokes, save with Bergum and Barret and men of an over-credulous turn of mind. He had not disguised his handwriting when he gave to the Bristol Journal the lucubrations of Bristoliensis. He knew well the excitement it had produced. He doubtless wished the discoverer to remain unknown. Ordinary shrewdness would have suggested under these circumstances a prudent abstinence, for a brief period, from further essays, at least in the Bristol Journal. Yet do we find him (in person, we suppose, and at the Farley office) presenting for insertion, immediately afterwards, another document written in the fair hand of the discoverer. He was immediately recognized. "The alarm was sounded," and attorney Lambert's office was besieged, not for the preparation of recondite specimens of legal lore, but for the

original of the copy of the "old bridge ceremonies." The original was *not* produced, though the discoverer was entreated and threatened by turns. He told two stories about it: the one, that it was among a parcel of old manuscripts a gentleman had employed him to transcribe; the other, that it had come from the large chest with six keys in the muniment-room of the St. Mary Redcliffe church. After Chatterton's death, its real origin was made known. To a Mr. Reedhall, an intimate friend of Chatterton, he had communicated the secret. Reedhall promised concealment. It was not disclosed till in 1779, when, "on the prospect of procuring a gratuity of ten pounds for Chatterton's mother from a gentleman who came to Bristol in order to collect information concerning her son's history, he divulged it." The real author the reader need not be told was the attorney's apprentice, Thomas Chatterton. There are facts, however, connected with Reedhall's account, noteworthy, inasmuch as they throw light upon Chatterton's facility in making ancient manuscripts out of new ones. Reedhall says:

"That Chatterton brought to him one day a piece of parchment about the size of a half-sheet of foolscap paper. Mr. Reedhall did not think any thing was written on it when produced by Chatterton, but he saw him write several words, if not lines, in a character which R. did not understand. They were totally unlike English, and, as he apprehended, were meant by Chatterton to imitate or represent the original from which this account was printed. He could not determine precisely how much Chatterton wrote in this manner, but the time spent in the visit did not exceed three-quarters of an hour. He said also, that when Chatterton had written on the parchment, he held it over the candle to give it the appearance of antiquity, which changed the color of the ink, and made the parchment appear black and contracted; he never saw him make any similar attempt, nor was the parchment produced afterwards by Chatterton to him, or (as far as he knows) to any other person."

Immediately after the publication of the old bridge manuscript, he finds a new acquaintance, or revives an old one, in the person of Mr. Catcott, of Bristol, the partner of Mr. Bergum, the pewterer, whose name Chatterton had already made famous. Catcott, it seems, was a man of literary tastes, and fond of antiquarian researches. Walking one day in Redcliffe church, he was informed by a friend that several ancient pieces of poetry had lately been discovered there, and were in possession of Chatterton, whom the speaker described as "an extraordinary young man." Catcott sought an introduction to the poet, and, in a brief period, an intimacy grew up between them. We find him now giving to Catcott a copy of "The Bristowe Tragedy," "Rowley's Epitaph upon Canynge's Ancestor," other smaller pieces, afterwards, "The Yellow Roll." Catcott, we imagine, by repeated solicitation, redoubled the labors of our poet, and, perhaps, to the amiable importunity and credulous curiosity of this friend, we owe many of the Rowley poems. We discover as much told as this in the following lines, taken from Chatterton's Last Will and Testament.

> "Catcott, for thee, I know thy heart is good,
> But, ah! thy merit 's seldom understood;
> Too bigoted to whimsies, which thy youth
> Received to venerate as gospel truth,
> Thy friendship never could be dear to me,
> Since all I am is opposite to thee.
> *If ever obligated to thy purse,*
> *Rowley discharges all—my first chief curse!*
> *For had I never known the antique lore,*
> *I ne'er had ventured from my peaceful shore,*
> *To be the wreck of promises and hopes,*
> *A Boy of Learning, and a Bard of Tropes;*
> But happy in my humble sphere had moved,
> Untroubled, unsuspected, *unbeloved.*"[2]

Some have discovered in these verses the affirmation by Chatterton of the genuineness of the Rowley poems. We cannot so read them. We think they speak the other way; at least, they are an ambiguous voice, and of little worth.

Catcott is soon followed by Barret, the Bristol surgeon and historian. Treasures hitherto undiscovered were made known to Barret. The specimens, the favorable specimens of Rowley's genius produced to him are scrutinized and pronounced authentic by the two, and the historian hastens to make the acquaintance of the young and unfledged attorney, and to secure the manuscripts for his work! Rowley was not merely a priest and poet, but a prose writer as well: and in a few days the delighted historian is furnished from the Rowley MSS. "with a true and particular account of the *ancient* churches of Bristol, which formerly occupied the sites of the existing structures;" a few days more, and another mouldy manuscript is produced; again, another and another; all authentic, and all solemnly introduced into the otherwise learned and elaborate history of Bristol by the good Mr. Barret! Naughty Thomas Chatterton! would it not suffice thee to turn the head of the tradesman Bergum with black-letter and march and garter titles? and to set Bristol agape with antique accounts of old bridges recently discovered, and veritable descriptions of the farces enacted at them? Would it not suffice thee to coin tragedies in verse, and priests to write them, for thy amusement and edification when seated in the presence of the Truth shining from the covers of venerable law-books and time-honored parchments? Must thou needs go and falsify history? Must thou record as fact, or allow another to record as fact, what thou knowest full well was the product of thy fertile and capricious fancy, finding neither foundation nor even apology in the dim pe-

riods into which thou pretendest to gaze? We may forgive thee the harmless imposture on a credulous pewterer; we may allow thee to put forth as the poetical productions of a holy "prieste" the coinings of thy own brain; but we cannot allow the fountains of wisdom, the philosophy of example, to be corrupted at their source. Let not thy profane hand dare to touch the sacred precincts of history! In this, thou hast not done well; and the pages of sober print recorded by worthy Mr. Barret, giving minute accounts from Turgotus of Radclefte and Bryghstowe walls and castles, will, to thy dying-day and beyond it, be a standing monument of thy rashness and folly!

Chatterton, at the time of these "forgeries"—this is the harsh title some have applied to them—was scarcely sixteen years of age! What might have been expected from a boy, had he ripened into a man, who had begun thus early to make history and to write it? His historical contributions to good Mr. Barret's history of Bristol will probably, together with the work in which they appeared, sink into oblivion—the poems remain.

It seems amazing to us, in view of the overwhelming testimony against the authenticity of the Rowley poems, that the learned world should so long have held dispute concerning them. Every fact in their history; the manner of their production; the interval of time that elapsed before their being fully revealed; the character as well as the genius of their discoverer; his confession of the fact that one of them he had produced as Rowley's was his own, and that the best among them; his zeal in forwarding the claims of the pretended author at the expense of his own—all pointed, almost unerringly, to the true source—to Thomas Chatterton, as the author. These were the external marks. There were, besides, internal evidences, per-

haps more convincing and conclusive. Rowley's English, though in great part the English of his day, was not all of it in that category. Words were used by him in the fifteenth century which had not been in vogue for a century afterwards; and there were other words which could only be found in modern dictionaries, and were probably misprints. His subjects, too, were novel for his day and for his vocation. A priest in calling, and living in a priestly age, when "devotional hymns, legendary tales, and moralizations of the scriptures," were almost the only literature in vogue, his literary taste is chiefly historical; and when he leaves that path, we have "elegant little poems upon *charitie* and *happinesse*, a new church, a *living worthy*, and other occurrences of the moment." His versification, too, is not in keeping with his times; neither his sudden and rapid breaks in the conversation, nor the dramatic ability displayed, nor the Pindaric metre of many of his poems. His absence of learning on points in which a priest would have been learned; the generality of his descriptions, when an eye-seer would have been minute; *the very astonishing fact that a learned and ingenious priest of the fifteenth century should have written nothing which an attorney's apprentice of the eighteenth, well versed in old and modern English, could not understand, and appreciate, and enjoy:* could such a host of evidences, all pointing in one direction, each of them singly of significance and worth, prove fallacious? There ought to have been no doubt of it. Tried by the tests of a nice scrutiny and the canons of criticism, rare must be the genius of the man, and matured and well elaborated the results of his labors, who shall succeed in imposing on the credulity of even a respectable minority in his own age. Chatterton's work could not stand it, though a marvellous one for a boy.

In the present edition of these poems, which is almost an exact reprint of the Cambridge edition of 1842, we are furnished with a history of the Rowley controversy. The writer has marshalled the lists, and assigns to each one his proper position in the contending hosts. First, Walpole, the correspondent, and afterwards the defender of Chatterton's claims, who, half angry, we imagine, at the trick the boy had played on him, determined to wash away the stain upon his antiquarian gown by stoutly denying the existence of Rowley. Then Milles, Dean of Exeter, and President of the Antiquarian Society, who proved his title to the office of honor by a vigorous comment upon Rowley, and a splendid quarto edition of his poems! The dean closes an anathematic, and, to himself, an irresistible series of arguments for their genuineness, by the declaration that the "Death of Syr Charles Bawdin' had a greater variety of internal proofs of its authenticity than any other!" Chatterton, it is known, *did* write the Death of Sir Charles Bawdin! Unfortunate dean! After Milles comes Dr. Sherwin, this biographer says, "of all the vindicators of Rowley, the most amusing and the most laboriously trifling," and last on the Rowley side, and main spokesman of them all, Jacob Bryant. Mr. Bryant starts out with the simple proposition, that "every writer must know his own meaning;" and attempts, in a treatise of six hundred pages, to demonstrate that Chatterton did not know his—that in his illustrative notes of Rowley, Chatterton had in many instances grossly misconceived and misinterpreted the text! If he had succeeded in the demonstration that Chatterton did not understand Rowley, we might probably unite in the verdict he has rendered. But is it quite true that "every author understands himself?" Mr. Bryant might have paused here as a debateable

point. Subsequently, Warton, and Malone, and Stevens Pinkerton, Jamieson, and Sir Herbert Croft', engaged in the controversy, taking the side of Chatterton, and vindicating his claims. Of these Warton was the chief and the most successful advocate; and, indeed, he may be said to have settled and put to rest the anti-Chatterton advocates for ever

But we should not dwell too long upon the merely critical history of these poems. They have something more than antique diction and the natural curiosity excited in regard to their origin to awaken attention to their claims. They are characterized by aptness and simplicity of expression, and abound in touches of exquisite pathos and beauty. Chatterton was not a scholar in the vulgar use of the term. He had not mastered any other language than his own, but he was a master of that. He had learned to read and admire, and he had caught the spirit of the best writers of pure English, and he had made himself familiar with the splendid productions of the ancients. It may have been his fondness of the old for the old's sake, a passion for antiquity—the ruling passion of his life—which attracted him to the stories and poetry of the ancients. It may have been the mere thirst for learning which prompted him to the new—a thirst with him insatiable and which he would willingly have slaked at any fountain. But, however implanted, this spirit had been cherished, and exhibits itself everywhere on the pages of his writings. In this respect, Chatterton's acknowledged poems and the writings of Thomas Rowley are one. Of the later writers, Chatterton's genius seems chiefly to have been impressed by the writings of Pope: and he has so familiarized himself with Pope's translations of Homer and satires, that he everywhere catches and transfers his spirit. While excelling his master in some of the regions of sentiment, he is

scarcely inferior in those departments which Pope's genius and circumstances were peculiarly adapted to produce. The very genius of Chatterton was against his success in the Rowley imposture. Warton, one of his critics, remarks this difficulty:

"To have been dull would not have suited Chatterton's purpose, nor indeed was it consistent with his genius. His aim was to dazzle and surprise, by producing such high-wrought pieces of ancient poetry as never before existed. To secure our credulity, he should have pleased us less. He has shown too much genius and too little skill. Overacting his part, and unable or unwilling to repress his abilities, he awakened our suspicions and exposed his want of address in attempting to deceive. He sacrificed his veracity to an imprudent ambition. Instead of wondering at his contrivance, we find he had none. A mediocrity of poetical talent would have succeeded much better in this imposture. He was too good a poet to conduct and execute such a forgery. He conceived that his old poetry would be sufficiently marked by old words and old spelling; but he took no caution about thoughts and imagery, the sentiment and the substance. He had never forgot, or never knew, or was not inclined to believe, that the garb of antiquity would but ill become the elegance of Pope, or the spirit of Dryden."

This is not overwrought praise.

Celmendi's soliloquy at reaching Bertha's home, and the "Mynstrelle's Song," in the tragedy of Ælla, are examples of the highest perfection of art, united with exquisite sensibility to poetic impression. We cannot omit the latter:

I.

"O! synge untoe mie roundelaie,
O! droppe the brynie teare wythe mee
Daunce ne moe atte hallie daye,
Lycke a reynynge ryver bee;
Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys deathe-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

II.

"Black hys cryne as the wyntere nyghte,
Whyte hys rode as the sommer snowe,
Rodde hys face as the mornynge lyghte,
Cale he lyes ynne the grave belowe;
Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys deathe-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

III.

"Swote hys tyngue as the throstle's note,
Quyoke ynn daunce as thoughte can bee,
Defte hys taboure, codgelle stote,
O! hee lyes bie the wyllowe tree;
Mie love ys dedde,
Gonne to hys deathe-bedde.
Alle underre the wyllowe tree.

IV.

"Harke! the ravenne flappes hys wynge,
In the briered delle belowe;
Harke! the death-owle loude dothe synge,
To the nyghte-mares as heie goe;
Mie love ys dedde,
Gonne to hys deathe-bedde,
Alle under the wyllowe tree.

V.

"See! the whyte moone sheenes onne hie;
Whyterre ye mie true love's shroude;
Whyterre yanne the mornynge skie;
Whyterre yanne the evenynge cloude;
Mie love ys dedde,
Gonne to hys death-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

VI.

"Heere, uponne mie true love's grave,
Schalle the baren fleurs be layde,

Nee one hallie Seyncte to save
Al the celness of a mayde.
Mie love ys dedde,
Gonne to hys deathe-bedde,
Alle under the wyllowe tree.

VII.

"Wyth mie hondes I'll dente the briers
Rounde his hallie corse to gre,
Ouphante fairie, lyghte your fyres,
Heere mie boddie stylle schalle be.
Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys deathe-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

VIII.

"Comme, wythe acorn-coppe and thorne,
Drayne mie hartys blodde awaie;
Lyfe and all yttes good I scorne,
Daunce bie nete, or feaste by daie.
Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys deathe-bedde
Al under the wyllowe tree.

IX.

"Waterre wytches, crownede wythe reytes,
Bere mee to yer leathalle tyde.
I die! I comme! mie true love waytes.
Thos the damsel spake and dyed."

"The Bristowe Tragedie, or the death of Sir Charles Bawdin," is one of the earliest of the Rowley poems, and the best. Chatterton confessed its authorship to Barret. Its subject is the execution of a knight, who, in the wars between the two Roses, was a zealous Lancastrian. We extract the following from the statement prefixed to the poem in the present edition. It occurs in the edition of Southey and Cottle, and is possibly the work of Chatterton:

"The person here celebrated, under the name of Syr Charles Baw-Din," was probably Sir Baldewyn Fulford, Knt., a zealous Lancastrian, who was executed at Bristol in the latter end of 1461, the first year of Edward the Fourth, He was attainted, with many others, in the general act of attainder, 1 Edward IV.; but he seems to have been executed under a special commission for the trial of treasons, etc., within the town of Bristol. . . . If the commission sat soon after the Vth of September, as is most probable, King Edward might very possibly be at Bristol at the time of Sir Baldwyn's execution; for, in the interval between his coronation and the parliament which met in November. he made a progress by the south coast in the west, and was (among other places) at Bristol."

We are only deterred by its great length from giving in full this favorable specimen of the author's genius. It resembles some of the fine old ballads which Percy has rescued from oblivion, and, had it stood alone, would readily have imposed upon a more astute and less credulous critic than Horace Walpole. Campbell aptly remarked, that the interest and strength of the poem is in nowise dependent on the obsolete garb in which it appears. It will bear a translation into modern English, without loss of any of the fire or force of the original:

"The feathered songster chaunticleer
Han wounde hys bugle horne,
And tolde the earlie villager
The commynge of the morne;

"Kynge Edwarde sawe the ruddie streakes
Of lyghthe eclypse the greie;
And herde the raven's crockynge throte
Proclayme the fated daie."

"'Thou'rt righte,' quod hee, 'for, by the Godde
That syttes enthron'd on hyghe!
Charles Bawdin, and hys fellowes twaine,
To daie shall surelie die."

The king orders the intelligence to be communicated by a courier, who

"Wythe harte brimfulle of woe,"

goes on his sad errand. As he approaches the victim of royal vengeance, he discovers him surrounded by his wife and little ones—

"He journey'd to the castle gate,
And to Syr Charles dydd goe.

"But whenne hee came, hys children twaine,
And eke hys lovynge wyfe,
Wythe brinie tears dydd wett the floore,
For goode Syr Charleses lyfe.

"'O goode Syr Charles!' sayd Canterlone,
'Badde tydings I doe brynge.'
'Speke boldlie, manne,' sayd brave Syr Charles,
'Whatte says thie trayter kynge?'

"'I greeve to telle, before yonne sonne
Does fromme the welkin flye,
Hee hath uponne hys honnour sworne,
That thou shalt surelie die.'"

Sir Charles meets the message firmly, and sends back the answer:

——"'Telle thye kynge, for myne hee's not,
I'de sooner die to-daie
Than lyve hys slave, as manie are,
Tho' I should lyve for aie.'"

While arrangements are making for the execution, Maister Canynge (of whom we shall have something more to say—"a grete and goode man, the favoryte of Godde, the friende of the chyrche, the companyonne of Kynges and the fadre of hys natyve cittie") seeks the king, to entreat

on behalf of the prisoner. Canynge is a favorite with Edward, but his importunities and entreaties are alike vain:

"'Lette mercie rule thyne infante reign,
'Twyll faste thy crowne fulle sure;
From race to race thy familie
Alle sov'reigns shall endure.

"'But yff wythe bloode and slaughter thou
Beginne thy infante reigne,
Thy crowne uponne thy childrennes brows
Wylle never long remayne.'

"'Canynge, awaie! thys traytour vile
Has scorn'd my power and mee;
How cans't thou thenne for such a manne
Intreate my clemencye?'

"'Mie nobile liege! the trulie brave
Wylle val'rous actions prize,
Respect a brave and nobile mynde,
Altho' ynne enemies.'

"'Canynge, awaie! By Godde ynne Heav'n
That dydd mee being gyve,
I wylle nott taste a bitt of breade
Whylst thys Syr Charles dothe lyve.

"'Bie Marie, and all Seinctes ynne Heav'n,
Thys sunne shall be hys laste;'
Thenne Canynge dropt a brinie tear,
And from the presence paste."

Sir Charles is the braver of the two. We must extract quite largely here:

"'We alle must die,' quod brave Syr Charles.
'Whatte bootes ytte howe or whenne?
Deathe ys the sure, the certaine fate
Of all wee mortall menne.

"'Saye, why, my friend, thie honest soul
Runns over att thyne eye;
Is ytt for my most welcome doome
Thatt thou doste child-lyke crye?'

"Quod godlie Canynge, 'I doe weepe
Thatt thou soe soone must dye,
And leave thy sonnes and helpless wyfe;
'Tys thys thatt wettes myne eye.'

"'Thenne drye the teares thatt out thyne eye
From godlie fountaines sprynge;
Dethe I despise, and all the power
Of Edwarde, traytor kynge.

"'Whan through the tyrant's welcome means
I shall resign my lyfe,
The Godde I serve wyll soone provyde
For bothe mye sonnes and wyfe.

"'Before I sawe the lyghtsome sunne,
Thys was appointed mee;
Shall mortal manne repyne or grudge
Whatt Godde ordeynes to bee?

"'Howe oft ynne battaile have I stoode
Whan thousands dy'd arounde;
Whan smokynge streemes of crimson bloode
Imbrew'd the fatten'd grounde.

"'Howe dydd I knowe thatt ev'ry darte
That cutt the airie waie,
Myght nott fynde passage to my harte,
And close myne eyes for aie?

"'And shall I nowe, for feere of dethe,
Looke wanne and bee dismayde?
Ne! fromme my herte flie childyshe feere,
Bee all the manne display'd.

"'Ah! goddelyke Heńrie! Godde forefende,
And guarde thee and thye sonne,
Yff 'tis hys wylle; but yff 'tis not,
Why thenne hys wylle bee donne.

"'My honest friende, my faulte has beene
To serve Godde and mye prynce;
And thatt I no tyme-server am,
My dethe wylle soone convynce.

"'Ynne Londonne citye was I borne,
Of parents of grete note;
My fadre dydd a nobile arms
Emblazon onne hys cote.

"'I make no doubte butt hee ys gone
Where soone I hope to goe;
Where wee for ever shall be blest,
From oute the reech of woe;

"'Hee taughte mee justice and the laws
Wyth pitie to unite;
And eke hee taughte mee how to knowe
The wronge cause fromme the ryghte:

"'He taughte mee wythe a prudente hande
To feede the hungrie poore,
Ne lette mye servants dryve awaie
The hungrie fromme my doore:

"'And none can saye butt alle mye lyfe
I have hys wordyes kept;
And summ'd the actyonns of the daie
Eche nyghte before I slept.

"' I have a spouse, goe aske of her,
Yff I defyl'd her bedde;
I have a kynge, and none can laie
Blacke treason onne my hedde.

"'Ynne Lent, and onne the holie eve,
Fromme fleshe I dydd refrayne;
Whie should I thenne appeare dismay'd
To leave thys worlde of payne?

"'Ne! hapless Henrie! I rejoyce
I shall nee see thye dethe;
Most willynglie ynne thye just cause
Doe I resign my brethe.

"'O fickle people! rewyn'd londe!
Thou wilt kenne peace ne moe;
Whyle Richard's sonnes exalt themselves,
Thye brookes with bloude wylle flowe.

"'Saie, were ye tyr'd of godlie peace
And godlie Henrie's reigne,
That you dydd choppe youre easie daies
For those of bloude and peyne?

"'Whatte tho' I onne a sledde bee drawne,
And mangled by a hynde,
I doe defye the traytor's pow'r,
He can ne harm my mynde;

"'Whatte tho'' uphoisted onne a pole
Mye lymbes shall rotte ynne ayre,
And ne riche monument of brasse
Charles Bawdin's name shall bear;

"'Yett ynne the holie booke above
Whyche tyme can't eate awaie,
There wythe the servants of the Lorde
Mye name shall lyve for aie.

"'Thenne welcome dethe! for lyfe eterne
I leave thys mortall lyfe,
Farewell, vayne worlde, and alle that's deare,
Mye sonnes and lovynge wyfe!

"'Nowe dethe as welcome to mee comes
As e'er the moneth of Maie;
Nor woulde I even wyshe to lyve,
Wyth my dere wyfe to staie.'

"Quod Canynge, ''Tys a goodlie thynge
To bee prepar'd to die;
And from thys world of peyne and grefe
To Godde ynne Heav'n to flie.'"

The meeting of the wife, and the separation, just before the final scene, are most touchingly described. It

lacks but one thing to make the picture complete—the children are not there to take the final parting:

"And now the bell beganne to tolle,
And claryonnes to sounde;
Syr Charles hee herde the horses' feete
A prauncing onne the grounde;

"And just before the officers
His lovynge wyfe came ynne,
Weepynge unfeigned teeres of woe,
Wythe loude and dysmalle dynne.

"'Sweet Florence! nowe I praie forbere,
Ynne quiet lett mee die;
Praie Godde, thatt ev'ry Christian soule
May looke onne dethe as I.

"'Sweet Florence! why these brinie teares?
They washe my soul awaie,
And almost make mee wyshe for lyfe,
Wythe thee, sweete dame, to staie.

"''Tys butt a journie I shalle goe
Untoe the lande of blysse:
Nowe, as a proofe of husbande's love,
Receive thys holie kysse.'

"Thenne Florence, fault'ring in her saie,
Tremblynge these wordyes spoke,
"Ah, cruele Edwarde! bloudie kynge!
My herte ys welle nyghe broke:

"'Ah, sweete Syr Charles! why wylt thou goe,
Wythoute thye lovynge wyfe!
The cruelle axe that cuttes thy necke,
Ytte eke shall ende mye lyfe.'

"And nowe the officers came ynne
To brynge Syr Charles awaie,
Whoe turnedd to hys lovynge wyfe,
And thus to her dydd saie:

"'I goe to lyfe, and nott to dethe;
Truste thou ynne Godde above,
And teache thy sonnes to feare the Lorde,
And ynne theyre hartes hym love;

"'Teache them to runne the nobile race
Thatt I theyre fader runne:
Florence! shou'd dethe thee take—adieu,
Yee officers, lead onne.'

"Then Florence rav'd as anie madde,
And dydd her tresses tere;
'Oh! staie, mye husbande! lorde! and lyfe!'
Sir Charles thenne dropt a teare."

It was a brave man's weeping—not for himself, but for the strength of affection—and did not arise save from weakness of manhood! The march through the streets of Bristol is then described. Edward has taken a position to witness the caravan of death. As the unhappy prisoner nears the place in which the king sits, he rises up from his seat to utter an earnest and bitter invective against the tyrant murderer. The passage has excited the admiration of more than one critic: admiration deepened doubtless by the fact that it was the creation of a boy's brain, but not the less sure and steady and firm. It is one of the manly productions of Chatterton's genius which will never die:

"Uponne a sledde hee mounted thenne,
Wythe lookes full brave and sweete;
Lookes, that enshone ne more concern
Thanne anie ynne the strete.

"Before hym went the council-menne,
Ynne scarlett robes and golde,
And tassils spanglynge ynne the sunne,
Muche glorious to beholde:

"The Freers of Seincte Augustine next
Appeared to the syght,
Alle cladde ynn homelie russett weedes
Of godlie monkish plyghte;

"Ynne diffraunt partes a godly psaume
Most sweetly theye dydd chaunte;
Behynde theyre backes syx mynstrelles came;
Who tuned the strunge bataunt.

"Thenne fyve and twentye archers came;
Echone the bowe dydd bende,
From rescue of Kynge Henrie's friends
Syr Charles forr to defend.

"Bold as a lyon came Syr Charles,
Drawn onne a clothe-layde sledde,
Bye two black stedes ynne trappynges white,
Wythe plumes uponne theyre hedde:

"Behynde hym fyve-and-twentye moe
Of archers stronge and stoute,
Wythe bended bowe echone ynne hande,
Marched ynne goodlie route:

"Seincte Jameses Freers marched next,
Echone hys parte dydd chaunt;
Behynde theyre backes syx mynstrelles came,
Who tuned the strunge bataunt.

"Thenne came the maior and eldermenne,
Ynne clothe of scarlet deck't;
And theyre attendyng menne echone,
Lyke Easterne princes trickt.

"And after them, a multitude
Of citizens dydd thronge;
The wyndowes were all fulle of heddes,
As hee did passe alonge.

"And whenne hee came to the hyghe crosse,
Syr Charles dydd turne and saie,
'O Thou that savest manne fromme synne,
Washe mye soul clean thys daie!'

"At the grate mynsterr wyndowe sat
The Kynge ynne myckle state,
To see Charles Bawdin goe alonge
To hys most welcom fate.

"Soone as the sledde drewe nyghe enowe,
That Edwarde hee myghte heare,
The brave Syr Charles hee dydd stande uppe,
And thus hys wordes declare:

"'Thou seest mee, Edwarde! traytour vile!
Expos'd to infamie;
Butt bee assur'd, disloyall manne!
I'm greater now than thee.

"'Bye foule proceedyngs, murdre, blonde,
Thou wearest nowe a crowne;
And hast appoynted mee to dye,
By power nott thyne owne.

"'Thou thynkest I shall dye to-daie;
I have beene dede till nowe,
And soone shall lyve to weare a crowne
For aie uponne my browe:

"'Whylst thou, perhapps, for some few yeares,
Shalt rule thys fickle lande,
To lett them knowe howe wyde the rule
'Twixt kynge and tyrant hand.

"'Thye pow'r unjust, thou traytour slave!
Shall falle onne thye owne hedde.'
Fromme out of hearyng of the Kynge
Departed thenne the sledde.

"Kynge Edwarde's soul rushed to hys face,
Hee turn'd hys hedde awaie,
And to hys broder Glocester
He thus did speke and saie;

"'To hym that soe-much-dreaded dethe
No ghastly terrors brynge;
Beholde the manne! hee spake the truthe,
Hee's greater thanne a Kynge!'"

Shall we attribute the noble sentiment with which this passage closes to the study of the black-letter Bible, the first companion to the poet's genius? The scene at the scaffold is as vividly described:

"And nowe the horses gentlie drawe
Syr Charles uppe the hyghe hylle;
The axe dydd glysterr ynne the sunne,
Hys pretious bloude to spylle.

"Syr Charles dydd uppe the scaffold goe,
As uppe a gilded care
Of victorye, bye val'rous chiefs
Gayn'd ynne the bloudie warre;

"And to the people hee dydd saie,
'Behold you see mee dye,
For servynge loyally my kynge,
My kynge most rightfullie.

"'As long as Edwarde rules thys lande,
No quiet you wille knowe;
Youre sonnes and husbandes shalle bee slayne,
And brookes wythe bloude shalle flowe.

"'You leave youre goode and lawfulle kynge,
Whenne ynne adversitye;
Lyke mee, unto the true cause stycke,
And for the true cause dye.'

"Thenne hee, wyth preestes, upon hys knees,
A pray'r to Godde dydd make,
Beeseeching hym unto hymselfe
Hys partynge soule to take.

"Thenne, kneelynge downe, hee layd hys hedde
Most seemlie onne the blocke;
Which fromme hys bodie fayre at once
The able heddes-manne stroke;

"And oute the bloude beganne to flowe,
And rounde the scaffolde twine;
And teares, enow to washe't awaie,
Dydd flow fromme each manne's eyne.

"The bloudie axe hys bodie fayre
Yunto foure parties cutte;
And ev'rye parte, and eke hys hedde,
Uponne a pole was putte.

"One part dydd rotte onne Kynwulph-hylle,
One onne the mynster-tower,
And one from off the castle-gate
The crowen dydd devoure;

"The other onne Seyncte Powle's good gate;
A dreery spectacle;
Hys hedde was plac'd onne the hyghe crosse,
Ynne hyghe-streete most nobile.

"Thus was the ende of Bawdin's fate;
Godde prosper longe oure Kynge,
And grante hee maye, wyth Bawdin's soule,
Ynne heav'n Godd's mercie syngge!"

We confess we fear to trust ourself to speak of this ballad in terms sufficiently commendatory. We have no patience with the cold and superficial criticism which could, after reading such a poem, stop to scan and search out its merely verbal defects. The spirit of the times of which it writes, and when it purports to be written, is breathed anew. Were worthy Thomas Rowley's name linked with no other effort of his muse, this alone would prove an imperishable monument. In his storie of Wm. Canynge,

Rowley says: "I gave Máster Cannings my Bristow tragedy, for which he gave me in hands twentie pounds, and did praise it more than I did think myself did deserve, for I can say in troth I was never proud of my verses since I did read master Chaucer?" The "chief poete of Britaine" would not have disowned them. Chatterton wrote this poem before the latter and evil days of his life, and while the sweet and holy charities of a home, with a mother's love and a sister's tenderness, were about him. It is the echo of his truer and better nature—not the utterance of the wild wantonness of dissipated boyhood, nor yet the fruits of the bitterness of toil, after the sterner and bolder grasping of the unattainable and the lofty had soured his genius.

The Bristowe tragedy was one of the poems which he committed to the keeping of Mr. Catcott. He afterwards produced the tragedy of Ælla. We do not hear of its existence until towards the end of 1768, when he opens a correspondence with Dodsley, in which he states that he has "an interlude, perhaps the oldest dramatic piece extant, wrote by one Rowley, a priest, in Bristol, who lived in the reigns of Henry VIth and Edward the IVth." The next year, he begins his attack upon the credulity of Walpole, by a complimentary note, accompanied with an account of "THE RYSE OF PEYNCTEYNGE IN ENGLANDE, WROTEN BY T. ROWLIE, 1469, FOR MASTRE CANYNGE." This account he annotates himself, and begs Walpole to correct the mistakes (if any) in the notes! The account he supposes will be of service in some future edition of his lordship's truly entertaining anecdotes of painting! The trap was well set, and came near catching the prey. Walpole's reply was respectful, courteous, and polite; just like the production of a man obliged by a favor from an unex-

pected quarter, and who doubts not for a moment his indebtedness. When the world began to laugh at the antiquarian, he assumed a different air; but no one could read this letter without the conviction that its author was in sober earnest, and did not hesitate to believe in the authenticity of the materials furnished him. A second letter was not so successful. Chatterton did not know the character of his correspondent. He began to prate of poverty, and complained of the humble sphere in which he was condemned to move! Presto! the conduct of the peer was sadly changed! Walpole was a cold, artificial, and polished man of letters—a nobleman, and therefore cold and haughty, an antiquarian and man of letters, and therefore polished. His reply to the letter of Chatterton doubtless partook largely of these qualities. The reply is lost, and only a fragment of Chatterton's letter remains. Subsequently to Chatterton's death, Walpole relates the affair, and judging from the specimen of charity it furnishes, the professed antiquarian was severely stung by the recollection of the part he had played in the transaction. We may, pardon, however, the bitterness of the language, when we remember that about the time of this letter public attention had been drawn to the unhappy fate of the wonderful Chatterton, and Walpole was reproved and sharply rebuked for not having extended to him his protection and interest.

"I should have been, (says Walpole,) I should have been blameable to his mother and society, if I had seduced an apprentice from his master to marry him to the nine muses; and I should have encouraged a propensity to forgery, which is not the talent most wanting culture in the present age. *All of the house of forgery are relations;* and though it is just to Chatterton's memory to say, that his poverty never made him claim kindred with the richest or more enriching branches, yet his in-

genuity in counterfeiting styles, and, I believe, hands, *might easily have led him to those more facile imitations of prose, promissory notes.*"

This from the author of the "Castle of Otranto"—a book stated by its writer to have been discovered in some ancient library, and printed in 1529 at Naples, when in fact it was the handiwork of Horace Walpole, and published in the eighteenth century—is something marvellous. No wonder that Coleridge, in citing this passage in the nobleman's history, with the foregoing severe stricture on the boy-genius, exclaimed against the outrage. A letter of Walpole to Hannah More in 1789, immediately after the publication of Barret's History of Bristol, justly provokes the indignation of the present biographer.

Chatterton, in his Last Will and Testament, alludes to poems of a religious cast which he had produced, simply designing to show "that a great genius can effect any thing." There are but two or three of his acknowledged poems extant which may be regarded as of a religious type, and to neither of these can we refer the allusion. The man who wrote "Resignation," and "A Hymn for Christmas Day," was in earnest. They are both excellent after their kind, and give some token of "a light from heaven breaking through the darkness of the soul." The former of these poems has already called forth from a kindred poet verses of exquisite tenderness and beauty.

THE RESIGNATION.

"O God, whose thunder shakes the sky,
Whose eye this atom-globe surveys,
To thee, my only rock, I fly,
Thy mercy in thy justice praise.

"The mystic mazes of thy will,
The shadows of celestial light,

Are past the power of human skill,—
But what th' Eternal acts is right.

"O teach me in the trying hour,
When anguish swells the dewy tear,
To still my sorrows, own thy power,
Thy goodness love, thy justice fear.

"If in this bosom aught but Thee
Encroaching sought a boundless sway,
Omniscience could the danger see,
And Mercy look the cause away,

"Then why, my soul, dost thou complain?
Why, drooping, seek the dark recess?
Shake off the melancholy chain,
For God created all to bless.

"But ah! my breast is human still;
The rising sigh, the falling tear,
My languid vitals' feeble rill,
The sickness of my soul declare.

"But yet, with fortitude resigned,
I'll thank th' inflicter of the blow;
Forbid the sigh, compose my mind,
Nor let the gush of mis'ry flow.

"The gloomy mantle of the night,
Which on my sinking spirit steals,
Will vanish at the morning light,
Which God, my East, My Sun, reveals."

Among his acknowledged poems, the African Eclogue and the Elegy on Phillips have gratified us the most. There is a piece of passionate and pathetic painting in "The Death of Nicou," worthy of the genius of Byron:

"Pining with sorrow, Nica faded, died,
Like a fair aloe, in its morning pride."

The African Eclogues were written in London in the darkest period of his history, just before the perpetration of the closing act of his life.

From the time Chatterton left his home at Bristol, and the office of Leonard, his life was a whirlpool of commotion and agony. His fate is not unlike that of the gifted Burns. The contrast is in Burns's favor. Burns, though he died in penury, was an object of admiration, and at times the pet, of the great ones in his own age. His poems met with immediate applause, and, for his day, were in a remarkable degree remunerative. If he fell into neglect, to himself must he attribute the suddenness of his fall. But "alas! poor Chatterton!" With the thirstings for a fame which his Heaven-bestowed genius entitled him to claim, he is restless and ill at ease, and chafes under the drudgery and prosaic duties of an attorney's office, longing to be master of his own time, to roam at will over the fields of literature and science, and to reap a harvest of imperishable renown! With high hopes and a proud heart, he abandons the quiet of Bristol and the engrossing of indentures, to play his part in the metropolis. Mr. Thistlethwaite, a contemporary of Chatterton, and not altogether free from jealousy of his superior abilities, has given in a letter the views with which Chatterton tried his fortunes at London. Thislethwaite's credit is not beyond suspicion, and were there nothing in Chatterton's history to support his testimony, it might be discarded; but, unfortunately, in the latter years of Chatterton, he had contracted infidel views, and spake and wrote of religion and religious emotions with the levity of an established "philosopher." Thislethwaite tells us that on inquiring of Chatterton what he expected to do at London, he replied: "My first attempt shall be in the literary way. The promises

I have received are sufficient to dispel doubt; but should I, contrary to my expectations, find myself deceived, I will in that case turn Methodist preacher: credulity is as potent a deity as ever, and a new sect may easily be devised. But if that too shall fail me, my last and final resource is a pistol." Construe this language as we may, it betrays a great laxity of principle; and if not the mere babbling of the boy, without thought, on a topic which one would suppose had interested and excited him, is deserving of unmixed censure. This is but one of many references made by him to the subject of suicide. It seemed to have been a familiar topic of his thought and conversation, and frequently occurs in his writings. It probably grew up at the time of his having imbibed infidel principles.

We are furnished, in a letter to his mother, with a brief reference to this trip to London. It rings with boyish delight, and is redolent of cheerfulness and hope, and a bright future. Every thing goes merrily as a marriage bell. How soon is the hope to be withered and blasted!

Two weeks afterwards he again writes, and still his good star is in the ascendant: "I am settled, and in such a settlement as I would desire. I get four guineas a month by one magazine; shall engage to write a History of England, and other pieces, which will more than double that sum. Occasional essays for the daily papers will more than support me." "What a glorious prospect!" he exclaims. Wilkes knew him by his writings; he had an introduction to Townsend and Sawbridge, and was quite familiar at the Chapter Coffee-house!

"A character was unnecessary—an author carries his character in his pen," said he; and, in the same breath, he declares the vast superiority of London to Bristol: "In Bristol I was out of my element—now I am in it." His

knowledge and skill in the art of managing booksellers had run beyond his experience: "No author can be poor who understands the arts of booksellers. Without this necessary knowledge, the greatest genius may starve; and with it, the greatest dunce live in splendor. This knowledge I have pretty well dipped into." This sounds somewhat strangely from a youth on his first trip to London, who had not lived there quite three weeks! We should note such precocious perspicacity as truly remarkable, if the sequel had confirmed his confident declaration. The "art and mystery" of booksellers is, we fear, a sealed volume, and will ever remain such to the hungry race of authors. If history speaks truly, they have usually secured the lion's share in every division of spoils.

The next post from London—probably the next post—carried a letter which begins—

KING'S BENCH, for the present, May 14, 1770.

"Don't be surprised at the name of the place. I am not here as a prisoner. *Matters go on swimmingly.* Mr. Fell having offended certain persons, they have set his creditors upon him, and he is safe in the King's Bench. I have been bettered by the accident; his successors in the Freeholder's Magazine knowing nothing of the matter, will be glad to engage me on my own terms!"

The maxims of Rochefoucault could find here an apt illustration.

In mitigation of the indiscretion of the boy—if it be indiscreet thus to speak out to a mother the real feelings he cherished—it must be remembered that his London life was a struggle for very existence; and as his prospect brightened, need we wonder that the misfortunes of a comparative stranger were overlooked in the hope that nerved anew his arm, and inspired the wish of further at-

tainments and usefulness; that, in the excitement of the moment, just discovering spread out before him a panorama of noble effort, and a splendid career, he forgets the higher and nobler principle of love to his neighbor! The world does not so regulate its conduct, that it may, without passing judgment upon itself, condemn the boyish ardor and hectic gayety of this letter. Yet is this feature wanting to perfect the character of Chatterton, and to make him a model of morals, as he was a miracle of mind. Chatterton now contracts an acquaintance with a young gentleman in Cheapside, partner in a music shop, "the greatest in the city." Chatterton writes a few songs for him. They are exhibited to a doctor in music, and the poet is invited to treat with him on the footing of a composer for Ranelagh and the Gardens. This is not all the good news his letter communicates. He is likely to have been engaged as companion to the young Duke of Northumberland in his tour; but he speaks but one tongue, and this is an insurmountable barrier. While in London, Chatterton enjoyed favorable opportunities for making an impression; but the place was expensive. He is obliged, by his profession, to frequent places of the best resort, and to dress fashionably. This is the use he makes of his means; but he will retrench. He wished cheaper lodgings. Indeed, a Scotch gentleman, a brother of a lord, who wished to embark pretty deeply into the bookselling branches, had offered him lodging and boarding, genteel and elegant, *gratis*. He promises his sister two silks that summer. And the beginning of the next winter he will be writing the voluminous History of London; and as that will not "oblige me to go to the coffee-house, I will be able to serve you the more by it." "If money," he adds, "flowed as fast upon me as honors, I would give you a portion of

£5000." The spirit breathing through this entire letter is hopeful. He is on terms of friendship with the Lord Mayor—could obtain from him a recommendation to an East India director for an office of honor; but prefers staying on land to trying his fortunes on the sea. Thistlethwaite speaks of Chatterton as indulging in medical readings during his stay in Bristol. This letter gives some evidence of his studies in that direction. He prescribes for one of his Bristol acquaintance, (a lady;) lectures on the sunlight and its prejudicial effect upon the eyes, and advises, as one of his chief medicatives, that she meet with no contradiction!

In the letter to his sister in which he thus figures as an Esculapius, he gives us a picture of his London life, quite natural and lifelike. We must content ourselves with but one or two extracts:

"Essay-writings has this advantage: you are sure of constant pay; and when you have once wrote a piece which makes the author inquired after, you may bring the booksellers to your own terms. Essays on the patriotic side fetch no more than what the copy is sold for. As the patriots themselves are searching for a place they have no gratuities to spare. . . . On the other hand, unpopular essays will not even be accepted; and you must pay to have them printed. But then you seldom lose by it. Courtiers are so sensible of their deficiency in merit that they generally reward all who know how to daub them with an appearance of it."

In another portion of the same letter he writes:

"Having addressed an essay to his lordship, (the mayor,) it was very well received—perhaps better than it deserved; and I waited on his lordship to have his approbation to address a second letter to him, on the subject of the remonstrance, and its reception. His lordship received me as politely as a citizen could, and warmly invited me to call on him again. The rest is a secret. But the devil of the matter is, there is no money to be got on this side of the question. Interest is on the other side. But he is a poor author who cannot write on both sides."

This is Chatterton's account of an affair which in no wise redounds to his credit. This passage in Chatterton's career has been made the occasion of severe censure, and, we are compelled to acknowledge, not without reason.

The facts were these: When Chatterton reached London, parties were engaged in earnest conflict about the Middlesex election. He instantly contracted an acquaintance with the leaders of the Wilkes, or "popular party," as it was then called, and was recognized by them as one of themselves, identified with their cause, and engaged in their behalf for the conflict. He became a writer for the press, and wrote several political letters, modelled after the style of Junius. These letters evince very extensive and accurate information. They abound in personal allusions and bitter invective. Beside the letters, Chatterton's satires were, in many parts, of the same political type, and were designed for the same purpose. While thus enjoying the favor of the popular party, and courting their applause and receiving their bounties, the youthful writer was not averse to experiencing a like return from the opposite side; and, if there be truth in dates, on the same day he wrote two letters about the same measure—the city remonstrance—in one of which he speaks in terms of commendation of the act of the administration in rejecting it; and in the other, as severely condemned it! In the one he began: "My Lord, it gives me painful pleasure." And in the other: "When the endeavors of a spirited people to free themselves from insupportable slavery." It is pleaded, in extenuation of this fault—crime it surely was not—that the penman was but a youth, not having yet reached the years of responsibility; that to talk of the political course of a boy of seventeen would be a solecism in terms, and would justly expose the critic to harsher dealing than his victim;

and that during the formative stage of the intellect, it may be regarded rather as the evidence of an active mind, than of a perverted moral sense, that one could think with equal readiness on both sides of a subject, and discourse with equal fervor and eloquent vehemence on both! And that, if these pleas do not avail, then that poverty and destitution were a sufficient excuse and apology! That indeed would be a shallow criticism which should apply to the actions of the mere youth the same moral canons that are adopted in the judgment of the actions of the matured and experienced, without taking into the account the immaturity of the offender; but, on the other hand, it would be productive of no little obliquities, if the plea of nonage alone were allowed to overcome all moral delinquencies. And in the case of Chatterton, whose intellect had at this time so ripened and matured as to fully equip him for the actual discharge of the duties of life—to perform its political as well as its social obligations; who had the means at hand of fully measuring the extent of his responsibility, and who ventured to be a director and guide of public opinion, the plea of infancy would be a sorry and incomplete one, and will scarcely exculpate him, save with such judges as are blinded by the superior light of his genius and the remarkable splendor of his intellectual productions! Poverty and penury, too, are not sufficient of themselves, or even when united with youthful years, to justify so gross a dereliction of duty, and so flagrant a disregard of moral obligation! *The writer for the public eye should value sacredly every impression he is making, and should as distinctly recognize his obligation to speak honestly and truthfully, as if speaking to a friend or companion in private!* and should scorn a support gained by insincerity in the one case as a favor obtained by falsehood in the other.

Lax criticism and an overweening attachment, not to say adoration, of genius, have too frequently taught otherwise; and this to such an extent, that a reader of the current literature of the day—in works of morals sometimes, as in newspapers and periodicals—would imagine that there had been implanted in us a moral sense of two kinds; the one to try small offenders by, of a strict and severe cast; the other of a loose and more generous type, for the ingenious and noble-born, for the gifted and the great!

Chatterton's political essays were doubtless above the average of his day: yet they served no higher purpose than to flatter his pride and get bread for their author. Full justice has not been done to his other prose writings, of which they were many. They all exhibit fertility of invention, and are characterized by a smoothness of rhetoric which would have been remarkable in any other than the creator of Rowley.

We now approach that point in Chatterton's career which it pities us should ever have been written. His hopeful prospects of fame and fortune are withering. The History of London was never begun, or, if begun, was never published. The bonuses of politicians and statesmen, falsely so called, are uncertain and unsatisfactory. The newspapers are fruitful in promises, but fruitless in their performance. In the space of a month, he changes his boarding house a second and even a third time. Necessity or pride is driving him from the haunts of the few friends he had made. A brief memorandum in his pocket-book tells the condition of his exchequer. It contains a charge of eleven pounds due him from London publishers; of long standing, doubtless, and unliquidated! Poverty and destitution stare him in the face. He locks himself up in his upper room, and refuses to eat, because he must eat the bread of char-

ity! Thoughts of bailiffs crowd his brain, and he longs for Bristol and boyhood! We may suppose him repeating the lines which occur in the singular document he entitles his "Last Will and Testament:"

> —— "Had I never known the antique lore,
> I ne'er had ventured from my peaceful shore,
> To be the wreck of promises and hopes,
> A Boy of Learning and a Bard of Tropes;
> But happy in my humble sphere had moved."

The last transient gleam of hope fled when Barret refused him assistance in procuring a situation as a surgeon's mate to the coast of Africa, a situation he was not fit for.

Henceforth Chatterton looks into the face of despair, and gathers strength and nerve for the deed which closes his life. How sad and strange the conclusion of the whole matter. He dies by his own hand on the 24th of August, 1770!

"The suicide," says his biographer, "was effected by arsenic mixed in water; such, at least, was the opinion of the most competent authorities. On the following day, his room was broken open. The door was covered with a multitude of small fragments of paper; an evidence that he had destroyed all the unfinished productions of his marvellous intellect." There was discovered after his death, in his pocket-book, a set of lines which, for his memory's sake, it were well had never been written. They could hardly have been written by one laboring under insanity, and if written at the time of the sad occurrence, as by their date is apparent, evidence the possession of that unconquerable and direst foe of his living as of his dying experience—his pride. There is but one redeeming feature in the whole: he does not forget his mother, but bids her a

her a sad adieu, before he perpetrates the act which robs her of a son and himself of life.

THE LAST VERSES WRITTEN BY CHATTERTON.

"Farewell, Bristolia's dingy piles of brick,
Lovers of mammon, worshippers of trick!
Ye spurned the boy who gave you antique lays,
And paid for learning with your empty praise.
Farewell, ye guzzling, aldermanic fools,
By nature fitted for corruption's tools!
I go to where celestial anthems dwell,
But you when you depart will sink to hell.
Farewell, my mother!—cease, my anguished soul,
Nor let Distraction's billows o'er me roll!—
Have mercy, Heaven! when here I cease to live,
And this last act of wretchedness forgive.

"August 24, 1770. T. C.

Let us attempt something more than shellwork with Chatterton. He deserves it. His work, his short and singular career, his splendor of genius, his untimely fate, command it. If we were called upon to distinguish him by a single title, we should characterize him as the *Diligent Worker*. Not, we admit, all his lifetime a workman through choice, or always earnest! But he was lashed into activity by the genius that stirred within him; and this, more than hunger, more than pride or the aspiration to excel, more than the affection he bore his parent or his sister, produced the marvellous history of a boy-author leaving behind him such works as his! It is a commonly received opinion, though we believe an erroneous one, that men distinguished for genius are not often distinguished for industry. The plodders say so, and the million believe it. But it is not true. In merely physical labor, what does not the world owe to its men of genius, its men of thought? In every depart-

ment of industrial pursuits, as in every branch of intellectual effort, they have been preëminent. Toils of body which would have worn down the mere plodder have been endured by the thinker, with no regard to their extent, their recollection being forgotten in the superior splendors of the mind and its noble products. Sir Humphrey Davy toiling over his lamp, Milton delving at his political manuscripts or elaborating his poems, Newton walking by the ocean of science, and picking up pebbles from the rocky shore, were all workmen, and workmen in earnest. Bacon, too, was a worker. His experiments in natural science alone would afford work for a lifetime. And time would fail us to speak of the hosts of men in Germany, England, and our own and other countries, that might be added to the list. Goethe and Richter, Chalmers and Southey, Irving and Prescott, are examples of earnest industry and an active working; the last named especially pursuing zealously his historical pursuits under circumstances the most difficult and trying, enough to dampen the ardor and depress the zeal of the most hopeful and laborious. As specimens of other nations, Lope de Vega had written in the compass of a few years an innumerable series of tragedies, and Voltaire's works are so multitudinous that the manual labor of copying them would require for its execution a decade, (though a decade ill spent, or the tithe of it.) These works were the fruits of a workman. It is, then, we repeat, an erroneous impression that men distinguished for their genius have, as a general rule, been distinguished for their idleness or No-Work. Independently of the vast numbers who have united to the cares of state the not less important cares of the man of letters, it is true that the man of thought who lives worthy of his name is a man of labor. Chatterton was truly such. In early child-

hood, his mother's garret witnessed his toils, and the after-years bore witness to the fidelity with which he wrought for fame. Besides a volume of acknowledged poems, quite enough to have occupied the spare hours of a schoolboy and attorney's-apprentice for ten years of labor—his prose-writings alone, in the edition by Southey and Cottle, fill an octavo volume of upwards of four hundred pages! And what shall we say of the chief labor of his life, the Rowley poems, upon which he expended doubtless the largest portion of his available time, and which was his most delightful employment? The almost merely mechanical task of transferring these into their antique garb was a herculean one, and with the poet the less attractive and entertaining; unless we may conceive that his work had so grown upon his affection, that he had learned to cherish his antiquated and daily companions, Bailey's Dictionary, or Kersey or Speght, with as much of interest as the visitings of the muse and the stirrings of the inward fire which kindled and glowed in the recital of Ælla or the Ballade of Charitie: or even the gentler moods and sweeter yet more mournful strains of the two "Systers in Sorrowe," who were widowed in a single night, and

> —— "wandered to swollen Rudborne's syde,
> Yelled theyre lethalle Knelle, sonke yun the waves and dyd."

Every one will note as a distinguishing characteristic of Chatterton's genius, its precocity. This has given him the greatest hold upon the public mind, and will probably widen and lengthen his fame. It is his chief distinction indubitably; but if this were all, the marvellous boy would be but a boy still, and we might hear his name simply cited among a series of illustrations of remarkable exhibitions of youthful intellect, with Zera Colburn, and the

rest! But there is something in the peculiar character of the precocity of this boy. He had nothing of the boy about him. There was a completeness of intellect and a completeness in intellectual efforts in every direction to which they were applied, that marked him as mentally a complete man! This is remarked by Foster as rendering it probable that had Chatterton lived he would not have fulfilled the generous predictions which had been augured concerning him. However this may have been, and we pretend not to be seers, it is unquestionably true of him, more than of any other prodigy of intellect, that his mental exhibitions are of such a character as to invite to their scrutiny the same canons and rules that would be exercised and applied to one of mature years. Chatterton was not, however, a fully developed man. In intellectual powers he ranked as such; but his present biographer errs most indubitably in the assertion that his moral nature was *manly*, if he means thereby to express the opinion that the virtues of the youth had attained their growth or stability. Chatterton, it is true, neither puled nor drivelled. He was as far removed from the cant of the infidel as the so-called Christian; yet was he not altogether as he ought to have been. He lacked the stamina of right principle, strengthened and developed by right action for a long term of years. He had not formed those habits of virtue which are possibly as necessary for proper living as virtue itself. While not deficient in endurance—never whining under wrong and never complaining of injustice to his youth—it was his pride, his unconquerable pride, rather than his moral force, that enabled him to withstand the imagined as well as the real wrongs of his detractors and friends. Chatterton would unquestionably have made a good hater—which Johnson longed for—rather than a true lover of

truth for the truth's sake, of the right for the right's sake. In his social intercourse, no less than in his political "tergiversation," we discover a remarkable laxity of adhesion; rather evincing a regard to personal advancement as the main inducement to his attachments, than an earnest, heartfelt, sincere devotion to friendship, which is attached it knows not why or how. In fine—for we must abbreviate what we would say on this point—because of his almost unnatural growth intellectually, he has the strength of manhood without its habits of virtuous action—the boldness and hardihood, and the expedients of the intellectual veteran, yet the feebleness and inefficiency and helplessness of moral infancy. We do not believe the charge of libertinism preferred against him, yet passages in his poems and prose writings might be cited to establish that he was neither a prude nor a saint. We forbear to speak of his pride, which he confessed in one of his letters constituted nineteen-twentieths of his nature; or of the sad and fearful catastrophe of which it was the occasion.

Singular throughout life, the single golden strand that binds him to the humanity of his day was the strength and continuance of the attachment he bore his parent and sister. One is at a loss to reconcile this unselfish devotion to these with other facts in his life. Nor do we discover here any exhibition of the pride which so distinguished him. With them, he is natural and childlike, and the son and brother writes in the letters which have been preserved in glowing and fervent language to his own! The promise of a new dress gives as much joy to his heart as the announcement of a new poem, or the triumph of a new article, or some state achievement. Let us set down to his credit, if we strip him of every other virtue, that he had somewhat

of truth in him, and acted it in filling up and discharging as far as in kis power the duties of a child and brother!

Chatterton's training was defective, yet we should err if we attribute the waywardness of his career to defects in his education. The education he enjoyed was probably as efficient as any other course of training would have been. While he had not mastered the classics (strictly so called) in their original tongues, in their stead he had cultivated an intimate acquaintance with the classics of his own tongue, and through the medium of translations had made himself familiar with the best literature of the ancients. Some few of his poems are translations. If a thorough training in classical learning and the usual curriculum of the college had served to postpone his acquaintance with the soberer realities of life and its severer struggles, it had been well; but then the Rowley poems would never have seen the light, and the world would have been the loser. The six years of Chatterton's life at the school of Colston were not the least important. The free use of circulating-libraries and an earnest study of their treasures, (fortunately it was before the advent of latter-day fiction,) made him a master of the learning which was essential to the character he was about to assume and successfully carry out. Perhaps his truest instructor and most successful leader was the usher-poet, whose memory he has preserved in fragrant verses, redolent of friendship and trustingness. Few schools of his day could boast of a Thomas Phillips, and fewer Phillipses would have found in the wonderful child a companion and a friend. Not to the want of education at school do we trace the aberrations of our poet, but rather to his lack of education at home; or, if we may so say, to his superior mental training without a corresponding growth of the moral part of his being—to his

want of experience and forethought as a habit, rather than to a defective development of the guiding power of the rational faculty. He had learned, and aptly learned, that worldly wisdom which, in his case, as in others of elder years and riper powers, enabled him to weigh and balance the probabilities of success, and the means for its accomplishment. This made him a man. But he had failed to learn that higher and purer wisdom which his mother's black-letter Bible might have taught him, and which, if he had followed to the end, instead of the sad eclipse of his genius, his sun, after riding the zenith and scattering its light over the ages, would have gone down with the splendor its rising had betokened.

HOPKINS'S AMERICAN CITIZEN.*

BISHOP HOPKINS rightly estimates the value of citizenship in this country, and has aptly unfolded in this volume many of the rights and duties, of high privilege and responsibility, which such citizenship involves. No people were ever called to the discharge of higher obligations, or were so thoroughly equipped by nature and by training for the task. The experience of many centuries was required to put into healthful action the agencies which, though set on foot long before, found their full development only in the complete organization of the American government. We cannot claim the method of that organization as altogether our own. Highly as we esteem the wisdom of the fathers of the Republic, we would be guilty of a gross perversion of history if we attributed to them alone the capacity to organize such a government, to give to it its appropriate machinery, and to clothe it with almost unlimited power of expansion, without first having availed themselves of the helps and aids which three centuries of struggling in the mother country had furnished. The seed-plots of American liberty were sown many years before the battle of Lexington, and long before his Majesty, King George III., taxed the colonies

* *The American Citizen; his rights and duties according to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States.* By JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, D. D., LLD., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Vermont. New York: Pudney & Russell, 79 John street. 1857.

without their consent, or committed any of the offences against right, so graphically portrayed in the Declaration of Independence. So, too, the practical knowledge which was brought to the task of framing the government was, in chief part, derived from a severe study of the principles which had been agitated in the mother country, and which, by free discussion, had become the common property of all educated men. The writings of Milton, the lives of Hampden and Pym, the bold speeches and bolder action of the Protector, had not been without their effect in diffusing, throughout the entire range of English civilization, embracing the colonies of England as well as her immediate territory, the spirit of true liberty. The works of her statesmen and orators were the property and the daily mental food of the educated among the colonists, and not a few of them resorted to her universities to secure for themselves the advantages there afforded. If we look at the events, immediately preceding and subsequent to the Revolution, by the light of mere veneration, we may blindly invest our fathers with miraculous power. If we look at them as the result in chief part of the antecedent history of our people and race, as the latest unfolding of the experiences of the past, we shall indeed see less of the marvelous, but we will see more of beauty and perfectness, in the system of government they organized and set on foot.

There never had been offered before a more inviting opportunity for solidifying principles into positive institutions. The materials of the new government were prepared for the work. Thirteen sovereignties, which had been taught by healthful action and experience to exercise the gift of sovereignty, were about to blend into one common form. They desired a new compact—but something more; a mere

compact would not suffice. This new form of government was to be invested with some portion of the sovereignty they themselves exercised; and for the common welfare, they were willing to relinquish so much as was necessary for the purpose. They gave and intended to give no more. They gave and intended to give as much as would be necessary to clothe the common sovereignty with enough of power to keep the whole in harmonious action and to enable it to protect the several parts. This is the essential idea and scheme of the American government; an enigma to foreigners, but plain and simple and of easy solution to the American. Taking this view of the origin of the Federal Government—a view sanctioned by contemporaneous history, and by the uniform principles of action adopted by men of every shade of opinion from that day to this—there can be no difficulty in ascertaining how far the government thus framed would be clothed with the power to interfere with the rights of conscience, as exercised by the citizens of the several States. Even in the absence of any express inhibition in the Constitution, there would seem to be no good purpose to be secured by such interference. The sovereignty with which it was intended to invest the Federal Government did not reach, was not designed to reach, and could by no possible contingency reach, or in any wise affect the relations of the citizen to his God. That was outside of the natural sphere it was designed to occupy. It would prove a clog upon its harmonious operations; or, if introduced either directly or indirectly, into its workings, would have set the whole ajar. The framers of the government were too wise to introduce any such disturbing element. They knew the history of the past too well; they valued too highly their individual liberties; they were too much attached to the comparative

freedom they enjoyed, to assent to any measure which should cut themselves off from the proper exercise of these. If asked for their religious views, they would doubtless have answered that the Bible (as we have it) was the religion of the land; that its sacred precepts were the foundation of social order, the amplest and the best security for the government; but they would not have answered that they designed to incorporate that or any other system of religion into the organic law of the country; that, being assigned the task of framing a scheme of government for a combination of sovereignties, they had no ghostly counsel to furnish, no sovereign panacea for spiritual diseases to provide.

This, we believe, was the general opinion adopted by all the statesmen of that day, and it has been echoed with one consent by all constitutional writers who have treated on the subject since.[1] It is confirmed by express provisions in the Constitution, to which it will become necessary hereafter to advert. It is not, however, the opinion of the author of this work. He maintains that there is a constitutional requirement of religion, and tells us, in so many words, that "the religious rights of the citizen of the United States consist in the enjoyment of his own conscientious choice amongst all the forms of our common Christianity *which were in existence at the time when the Constitution was established;*" beyond this, the citizen may be *tolerated* to profess a religion—he has no *right.* In another connection the author seems to teach that the only Christian rights and liberties then enjoyed, and designed to be protected by the Constitution, were those of the Congregationalists, the Reformed Dutch, the Scotch and English Presbyterians, the German Lutherans, the Friends, or Quakers, the Baptists, the Methodists, the

Roman Catholics, and the Episcopalians. The *Jews*, he thinks, may be tolerated, but, with that "single exception," he adds: "I can find *no right* for the public exercise of any religious faith under our great Federal Charter which does not acknowledge the Divine authority of the Christian Bible."

It is manifest from the language the author has used, that he considers the right to exercise a religious faith to be derived by the citizen from the Constitution. He speaks of those rights being protected by the Constitution, and calls it the great "Federal Charter." Doubtless he means that the Constitution is the charter of our religious as of our civil liberty. We have already exposed the fallacy of these views. In no proper sense can it be said that the right of our citizens to enjoy what religion they may choose is derived from the Constitution of the Federal Government. Equally improper is it to call it the "charter" of those rights as if they had been aforetime in peril, and were rescued and guaranteed to us in the federal compact.

But the error of Bishop Hopkins is something more than verbal. While maintaining in full force and vigor the common standard of Christian principle, the Bible, he attempts to introduce a new feature into the operations of the government by maintaining the equal rights only of those Christian Churches and sects "*which existed at the day*" *the American Constitution was adopted.* It is this last limitation that we are chiefly inclined to question. We do so for this reason: It would be impossible to inaugurate it as a rule of action without instantly introducing intolerance, and admitting the power of the State to control the exercise of religious beliefs. If it be granted that the *right* of religious beliefs is restricted to the beliefs

existent at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, *the State* will be the arbiter to settle which forms of Christian beliefs were *then* existent, and we shall clothe the latter with the amplest power to encourage and foster, or crush out and destroy, any form of belief towards which "the powers that be" might be well or ill affected. If this were the case, it would not be long before we should witness the clashing of sects and opinions on the civil arena; and the strife would wax as furious as in the bitterest period of religious intolerance. Do what we might to prevent it, these questions would be instantly debated: What were the Churches that existed in the era of the American Constitution? what were their forms of government, their faiths, their practices? what part of the country did they occupy? are the present a lawful or a bastard progeny? have they changed in form, in faith, in practice, or even in locality? There were Calvinists then—Presbyterians so called: who are their lawful descendants, the Old or the New School Presbyterians? There were Baptists then: who are their lawful descendants, the Regular Baptists or the Reformers? did they observe the Lord's day or the seventh day? were they Mission or Anti-Mission? There were Protestant Episcopalians: were they High Church or Low Church? were they Puseyites or Non-Puseyites? There were Methodists then: were they Calvinistic or Arminian? did they follow Whitefield or Wesley? Here then would be opened the floodgate first to religious intolerance and acrimony, and afterwards to civil and state persecution; nor would the bitter tide expend itself until these rival bodies and rival interests had settled their precedence at the era of the country's independence, and history or the sword had vindicated their respective claims! Could the demon of intolerance desire a more ample har-

vest to be spread out for the reaping? Bishop Hopkins is too catholic and judicious to covet any such controversy. He would shrink, we know, from the expression of a sentiment, the probable result of which would be anything like the picture we have attempted to draw. Yet is it not true? does not the history of the past testify to the truth, that the bitterness of persecution for religion's sake is not to be measured by the differences, but rather by the resemblances of religious belief; that it is not the widest points of difference in doctrine which most tend to promote discord, but the nearest? If this be true, the controversy his doctrine would beget, beginning with an acrimonious discussion, would finally result in the bitterest persecution of the Churches; not waged for the absence of vital godliness, but for differences in the cut of the coat or the shape of the shoe; for the wearing of a gown or putting it off; for bowing or sitting at the sacrament; and the like.

The picture is a gloomy one. Admit, however, that such results would not flow; admit that, under the benign influence of the author's doctrine, Christian toleration would be given and always given to the sects he has enumerated; still the germ of the evil would be there, ready to bud at the earliest favorable opportunity. The power of the State would be called in to determine which is true and which is false; her wisdom would be consulted to devise schemes, and her force employed to carry them out, for the annihilation of the new sects which have sprung up since the formation of the Federal Government, or may spring up hereafter. Sects would thicken and multiply as the work of destruction or persecution went on: and in a little while, the glory of a *tolerant* government would be converted into the shame of an intolerable religious tyranny.

The advocates of religious interference go quite far enough when they say that the safety of the people being the supreme law,* whenever the profession or practice of any religion interferes with the due discharge of the duties of the citizen, the latter must override the former—the religion must yield. Granting that the form of government is the best, and that infallible judges might apply the rule, we should admit the statement as a mere truism commending itself to the ripe judgment of every one. But even here we are met by the difficulty that human judgments are not infallible, and that it would be hazardous (to say no more) to commit to the keeping of any man, or body of men, the consciences and the religion of the people. Where, on the other hand, there is no conflict between the avowed religion of the citizen and the natural sphere of governmental operations; where the duties of the citizen are not impinged upon by his religious faith, there it is clearly the duty of the State, not indeed to *tolerate*, but to protect in their proper exercise the religious rights of its citizens, and not to allow them to be in any wise disturbed. We object, as we have said, to the words "*religious toleration*" as applied to our government. These words imply that "religious beliefs" are matters of State concern, and that to the due enjoyment of any form of religion there must *first* be secured the sanction of the powers of the government. This is fallacious. The State as such, our government as such, has nothing to do with the forms of religious beliefs. It takes no other cognizance of them save that which it takes to secure their proper enjoyment. If, indeed, they conflict with the well-being of the State; if their profession or practice lead to a breach of the laws

* *Salus populi suprema lex.*

enacted for the public safety and welfare, then such breaches should be punished as any other breaches are punished. This would cut off Mormonism, the impurities of Mohammedanism, Thuggism, and indeed, all other breaches of public law, whether committed by Catholic or Protestant, by a professed saint or a professed sinner. The ground upon which, in the absence of the principles we have attempted to defend, Bishop Hopkins attempts to justify the claim of the Jews to worship in this country is specious and unsound:

"The meaning of the Constitution can only be derived," he says, "from the reasonable intention of the people of the United States. Their language, religion, customs, laws and modes of thought, were all transplanted from the mother country; and we are bound to believe that whatever was tolerated publicly in England was doubtless meant to be protected here. On this ground there is no question about the constitutional right of our Jewish fellow-citizens, whose synagogues had long before been established in London. But with this single exception, I can find no right for the public exercise of any religious faith under our great Federal Charter which does not acknowledge the Divine authority of the Christian Bible."

Here our author is at fault, both in his facts and his deduction from the facts. How were the Jews *tolerated* in England at the time that the people of this country transplanted the religion and customs of the mother country to this? Were they allowed accession to the public councils? were they eligible to office? could they have filled a ministerial post of the lowest dignity among the myriad offices of his sovereign majesty, the then ruling monarch of two kingdoms? Was it not a mere toleration and nothing more? the simple privilege of breathing English air while they worshipped Jehovah as they were taught by their fathers. Is this the sort of "toleration" the Bishop would confer upon the Jews of this country? We

take it for granted that in the allusion to the transplanting of manners from the mother country to this, the author refers more particularly to the happy reign of King James the First; a monarch whose career was as remarkable for its tyrannical and oppressive exactions, whose era was as noted for kingly and prelatical rage, as any which preceded it, if we except the reign of the bloody Mary. The Court of High Commission was permitted by this king to glut its voracious appetite with victims not a few; and he seems himself to have been more than partial to its operations, for, in express violation of his solemn pledges to the Scottish Church, he introduced it into Scotland to carry on in that Country its destructive work. Even the superficial reader of English history will recall also the famous five points which he attempted to thrust upon the Scottish Church. Bishop Hopkins would surely not claim as a part of our religious system either the High Commission Court or the intolerance of this monarch, or even the religious doctrines taught by the English government afterwards. Yet how does he, how can he introduce a part of that system—one of its relieving features, it is true—as of binding obligation while the system itself is ignored and repudiated? Into this dilemma must he be driven if he attempts to justify the toleration of the Jews in this country simply on the ground that they were tolerated in England. Another and not less serious difficulty will he encounter when he makes the attempt to ascertain the particular era of settlement of any one State, and the special customs brought from the mother country into that State. If our ancestors, the framers of the Federal Constitution, are to be supposed to have inherited the customs and religious beliefs of their progenitors, and the terms of the Constitution are to be construed by a reference to these customs

and religious beliefs, we shall have as many different interpretations as there were differences in the respective settlements of the colonies, and in the opinions and customs which were propagated among them.

It will not be pretended, for example, that the Catholics of Maryland brought with them from England the laws which prohibited the free exercise of their own religious beliefs. They brought with them, at farthest, only so much of the law as did not conflict with this right. So with the Puritans of New Plymouth; they brought only so much of the laws as did not impair their right to serve God in their own way. So with the Episcopalians of Virginia; each brought over with them only so much of the customs and laws of the mother country as did not abridge the exercise of their own religious beliefs. It is apparent, then, that the standards of toleration vary with the people by which they are to be exercised; that these standards are strict or loose, are Catholic or Protestant, are Presbyterian or Episcopalian, as they are applied by the one or the other. Would any American citizen be content to have his religious rights guaranteed by such shifting and uncertain tenures? Adopt this view, and what possible fixed interpretation can be assigned to the terms of a constitution—the common organic agreement of these several bodies of people—when the rules which govern its interpretation by the one not only differ from, but contradict and totally subvert the rules adopted by the other? If the Jews enjoy the right to the exercise of their religious faith under the ægis of our Constitution, their protection in the enjoyment of that faith must be found somewhere else than in the fact that their faith was tolerated in England. It must be found in the operation of a principle which will introduce to similar rights the professor of any religion, Christian or

otherwise, the due exercise of which is compatible with the discharge of the duties of the citizen, the due exercise of which does not, on the one hand, necessitate a breach of the penal laws of the land, or, on the other, invite to an omission to fulfil any duty enjoined. To be consistent with the practical operation of our government, our author must find, too, a principle which will admit the Jew to office in the same manner and to the same extent as the Christian.

The stress of his position has occasioned on the part of Bishop Hopkins a palpable misinterpretation of the language of the Federal Constitution. In the third section of the sixth article, it provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." The first article in the amendments directs further that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The author finds what he supposes to be the true interpretation of these clauses by a reference to the "*test-laws*" of England. He thinks they were simply designed to guard the religions affected by those laws, and were not intended to look beyond them: that in thus affording protection to "the Congregationalists, the Dutch Reformed, the Scotch and English Presbyterians, the German Lutherans, the Friends or Quakers, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Roman Catholics, and the Episcopalians," giving to neither one supremacy over the rest, all was accomplished that was in the view of the framers of the Constitution; that the framers of the Constitution did not "unite to patronize infidelity, to nullify the very oath which they were so careful to require, and to give the same political confidence to those who vilified as to those who reverenced the common religion of the land."

Let us get rid, in advance, of the *odium* of this argument. An appeal to prejudices never serves to enlighten the mind. It was certainly not the intention of the framers of the Constitution to patronize or foster infidelity. They had no such aim. They neither desired to do so by openly bestowing *rewards* upon avowed infidels, nor by encouraging a semi-infidelity by conferring gifts and capabilities upon *quasi* Christians which others did not enjoy. They ignored altogether a man's religious belief; and while refusing, on the one hand, to give *premiums* to the avowants of religious belief, on the other, they also refused to annex disabilities to the absence of all religious belief. This is the obvious and palpable construction of the language used in the Constitution; and it would violate the rules of fair interpretation, and tend to confound the plain meaning of well-settled terms—indeed, it would destroy all confidence in all interpretations—if such language may be tortured into a different and variant construction. The article in the Constitution, as first propounded, looked, we admit, simply to the "test" acts, but it was to meet and supply the very deficiency of this article that the *amendment*, in larger terms and of more comprehensive import, was adopted. "Congress," it declares, "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Could language be broader? If it had been designed to prohibit laws tolerating any other forms of belief than the Christian religion, it were easy to have made the meaning clear. But this was not the purpose. The purpose is patent on the face of the amendment: it embraced every form of religion; and, on the one hand, negatived the right to *establish* any, and, on the other, cut off the right to *prohibit* any. Nor will it suffice to answer this view by the remark that an *oath* is required to

support this Constitution, and that the taking of this *oath* implies a reference to the Christian religion. This would be a forced inference even were it true that this taking of an oath means the taking of an oath in the Christian sense. But it is very far from being true that *oaths* are always thus administered even in Christian countries. The law books tells us that witnesses are to be sworn according to the peculiar ceremonies of their own religion, and in such manner as they may deem binding on their own consciences. This was a part of the civil law, and is as well a part of the common law.[2]

In England, even before the laws removing the disabilities of the Jews, they were allowed to sit on juries; they were sworn as jurors; the oath they took was administered according to their own form of religious belief, and was never administered as a *Christian* oath. It is so here[3] And while we will acknowledge that in some of the courts of the country a belief in the future state of rewards and punishments has been deemed essential to make a witness competent, in others the doctrine has been repudiated. If it were universally adopted, however, it would not answer the purpose of the author. To make his reasoning even plausible, the oath required must be a Christian oath, in form and in belief; the deity of Christ, and the inspiration of the New Testament Scriptures, must be acknowledged.

Besides the fallacies of the argument which we have just disclosed, there are other difficulties which the interpretation of Bishop Hopkins encounters. A simple reference to the names of the Presidents who lived contemporaneously with the adoption of the constitution, some of whom labored for its adoption by the people, will scatter to the winds the interpretation he has given. Thomas

Jefferson was one of these: John Adams was another; the latter *a Unitarian*, the former a nondescript, (we will not call him an infidel, yet we know no other name by which to call him.) Now neither of these classes do we find enumerated by Bishop Hopkins among the religious beliefs the exercise of which is protected by the Constitution, as embraced in the terms of admission he has assigned. Does not the interpretation fail, then, in an essential point? or, does Bishop Hopkins understand the provisions of the Constitution better than Jefferson and Adams? or, worse still, did Jefferson or Adams, in taking the oath to support the Constitution, violate its spirit in the act of taking it? We must adopt either one of these interpretations, and we confess we incline to adopt any interpretation rather than charge Jefferson and Adams with ignorance or perjury. Bishop Hopkins feels the force of this objection, and undertakes to prove that *Jefferson* did not entertain infidel sentiments, and cites his public messages to disprove it. Unfortunately for Jefferson's memory in this respect, letters from his own hand, addressed in familiar correspondence to personal friends, in which he would be most apt to reveal his true sentiments, disclose, in no ambiguous terms, the views he entertained of the Christian religion. We are not compelled to discredit these revelations, as Bishop Hopkins suggests, because their author never designed that they should see the light. For that very reason they are entitled to the more credit. In the familiar intercourse between man and man, in personal correspondence, there is little if any inducement to the concealment of personal opinions and prejudices: there is, too, a more full unfolding of the sentiments and character; and accordingly, it is now a universally established canon of evidence that such revelations are to have greater weight, are

to be more relied on than mere public displays. But we will not do Mr. Jefferson the injustice to say that there is any contrariety between his public messages and his private correspondence. There is nothing in the former which one acknowledging a Deity, as he did, might not have used without creating a false confidence in his *Christianity*. He professed faith in Christianity neither in public nor in private; and his public displays go no farther than to establish his belief in the existence of a Divine Being. In his private letters he does not deny it. Something more than this is demanded by the terms of admission laid down by Bishop Hopkins. The constitutional requirement of the *oath of office*, he contends, is a Christian oath: "No man can take the oath in its true constitutional sense unless he [is] a believer in the *essential* truths of the *Christian* religion as revealed in the Holy Scriptures." Mr. Jefferson took it. Was he within the terms? So did Mr. Adams. Does Bishop Hopkins regard the *deity* of Christ as one of the essential truths of the Christian religion? If he does, did Mr. Adams come up to his requirement? or did he in violation of the spirit of the Constitution take the oath of office! Another name among the Presidents, whose history was not contemporaneous with the adoption of the Constitution, occurs to us as one of the insuperable difficulties the Bishop's interpretation encounters. The younger Adams was not a believer in the Divinity of Christ. He, too, must be numbered among those who violated the spirit of the Constitution in taking the oath of office, if the author's interpretation is to be adopted.

We willingly acquit the Bishop of Vermont from the charge that he designed to introduce into the practical administration of the United States government any of the

objectionable features we have shown to be the natural and almost inevitable results of his doctrines. He expressly disclaims the desire to unite Church and State; and we are satisfied that the chapters of his work we have commented on thus freely were written solely for the purpose of diffusing the spirit of true Christianity among the people. We should heartily second any effort the result of which would be a wider and deeper interest in the Christian religion. But we submit that it is neither the wisest nor the best philosophy which makes a merely nominal profession of religious faith the handmaid to earthly distinction, or even puts into the hand of true Christianity the insignia of earthly power. Our author, and those who adopt his views, may disclaim any intention to unite and blend the sovereignty of the State with any one or more of the forms of religion; but the dangers of such a union are too great, the temptations to it are too strong, to admit of doubt, that in the end, this result would ensue, were his doctrines embraced. Strange indeed would it be if such a result should be traced to an instrument framed by its authors for preventing this very consummation; to one which, in so many words, declares that no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercises thereof, shall be enacted.

The space we have devoted to this topic forbids our following the author into other fields of thought he has explored, the ripe fruits of which he has gathered for his readers.

It affords us unmixed satisfaction to bear testimony to the justness of views with which he has considered and discussed the great dividing question of the day. It is indeed a noteworthy matter that a Vermontese Bishop should have taken so catholic and national a position on

this important subject. While we do not agree with every thing he has written upon it, we yet can cheerfully echo in chief part his sentiments. An analysis of his eleventh chapter sets forth, in brief compass, his opinions on this topic. We will cite it for the benefit of our readers:

"The rights and duties of the American citizen with regard to slavery:

1. He has a right to his personal opinions. But he has no right to form them unfairly, either in contempt of the Bible, or of the sentiments of Christendom for eighteen centuries

2. He has a right to believe that although slavery be *lawful*, yet it is *expedient* to dispose of it peacefully, legally, and justly, with regard to the permanent interests of the South and all the parties. But he has no right to abuse the Constitution or trample upon the law.

3. He has a right to think that the abolition of slavery is not *expedient;* but he has no right to threaten a dissolution of the Union, nor to use unlawful violence in any form towards those who differ from him. It is *his* duty to be just, patient, and generous towards all who cannot see the subject in the same aspect as himself. It is also his duty to support the law, so long as it is law, because the resistance of the law is rebellion, and exposes the whole land to anarchy and ruin. It is his duty to guard against excitement, and to remember that the subject of slavery should be treated with a sense of solemn responsibility, and in the spirit of patriotic devotion to the public good."

Such sentiments as these are worthy of all praise. As "words fitly spoken, they are like apples of gold in pictures of silver."

BLEDSOE AND STRINGFELLOW ON SLAVERY.*

We are not of those who condemn the Higher Law. We believe in it. That is, we are willing, in advance and *à priori*, to express our approval of any set of opinions or course of conduct for which Bible sanction can be produced. We yield implicitly and with profound homage to a "Thus saith the Lord," whatever its teachings, whatever its command; and though it call for the renunciation of the most dearly cherished opinions, and for the sacrifice of the most deeply important interests, even of life itself, its behests we are willing to obey. If, then, the Bible sanctions slavery, we will commend it: if, on the contrary, the Bible condemns it, and teaches that it is right to abolish it at whatever cost of money or of blood, we say with cheerfulness, Let the will of the Almighty be accomplished: let his injunctions be obeyed. In the discussion, therefore, of the slavery question, we place ourselves fairly on the platform which the Christian of either section of the Confederacy should desire, by an appeal in the first instance, and as definitively set-

* *An Essay on Liberty and Slavery.* By ALBERT TAYLOR BLEDSOE, LL.D., Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1856.

Scriptural and Statistical Views in favor of Slavery. By THORNTON STRINGFELLOW, D.D. Fourth edition, with additions. J. W. Randolph. 121 Main street, Richmond, Va. 1856.

tling the issue, to the oracles of Jehovah. What do they say in regard to the subject of slavery? what do they inculcate as applicable to this institution? what course of conduct do they point out as proper where it exists?

An examination of these writings will establish that slavery has received the sanction of Jehovah in every period of which they treat: "by express command under the Patriarchal age; by its incorporation into the law uttered from Sinai; and by its legality being recognized and its relative duties being regulated by Christ and his apostles."*

The first scriptural passage bearing upon this subject is found in Gen. ix. 25–27. It is the declaration of Noah in regard to his sons and their descendants: "Cursed be Canaan: *a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.* Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; *and Canaan shall be his servant.* God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; *and Canaan shall be his servant.*" This is the language of prophecy, doubtless; yet it is the language of a father, speaking in explicit and emphatic terms of the abject bondage of a part of his descendants to the rest, and, without interposing a single remonstrance, uttering the will of the Almighty with implicit obedience and cheerfulness. The language also is unaccompanied by any denunciation of anger or wrath upon those who shall hold their brothers in bondage, but absolutely blesses them. Not double-tongued, but singularly emphatic, is his first declaration of the Holy Scriptures concerning the institution of slavery. If it be allowed to speak at all, it speaks that slavery, even slavery among *brethren*, may be tole-

* Stringfellow.

rated, yea, enjoined by God. In the language of Dr. Stringfellow, God in this instance decreed slavery, and "shows in that decree tokens of good will to the master." Tracing the sacred records down from this declaration of Noah, we are next arrested by the case of Abraham. Abraham, the father of the faithful, has had many unworthy descendants, who have been proud to call him father. The abolitionists surely will not claim any relationship. When called to go into Canaan, the narrative informs us, Abraham "took Sarai his wife, and Lot, his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, *and the souls they had gotten in Haran*, and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan." Gen. 12. 5. Who are these "souls he had gotten in Haran?" Slaves, bought with Abraham's money. So the ancient Jewish writers say, and so the major part of Christian commentators agree. Dr. Bush, however, expresses no positive opinion concerning it, but simply affirms that by Abraham's "making souls," we are to understand his "enlarging his household establishment." This enlargement consisted, doubtless, of the addition of slaves, and to it we are in a great measure to trace the astonishing fact, disclosed to us in Genesis xiv. 14, that when Abram "heard that his brother was taken captive, *he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen*, and pursued them [*i. e.*, the captors of Lot] unto Dan." These "servants" were *slaves*, and the passage should so have been translated. Kitto estimates that in order to furnish this quota of slaves able to bear arms, the probability is that Abram was the owner of four times the number, so that he held in his own right in bondage upwards of *twelve hundred slaves!* Numerous other passages occur in the book of Genesis,

referring to the great wealth of Abraham, consisting of silver and gold, flocks and *slaves;* so that one has properly said that "in his history, the existence of slavery meets us at every turn." We will not dwell specially upon these, but content ourself with a simple reference to the following: Gen. xii. 15, 16: xvii. 12, 13; xx. 14–16. One other fact connected with the history of slavery in Adam's time we must not omit to notice. It teaches so wholesome a lesson to modern agitators, that we could wish it engraven in golden letters upon their frontlets. Dr. Stringfellow has stated the case so well in his little work, that we cannot do better than cite his language:

"God had promised Abraham's seed the land of Canaan, and that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed. He reached the age of eighty-five, and his wife the age of seventy-five, while as yet they had no child. At this period, Sarah's anxiety for the promised seed, in connection with her age, induced her to propose a female slave, of the Egyptian stock, as a secondary wife, from which to obtain the promised seed. This alliance so puffed the slave with pride, that she became insolent to her mistress: the mistress complained to Abraham, the master. Abraham ordered Sarah to exercise her authority. Sarah did so, and pushed it to severity, and the slave absconded. The Divine oracles informs us that the angel of God found this runaway bond-woman in the wilderness; and if God had commissioned this angel to improve this opportunity of teaching the world how much he abhorred slavery, he took a bad plan to accomplish it. For, instead of repeating a homily upon doing to others as we 'would they should do unto us,' and heaping reproach upon Sarah as a hypocrite and Abraham as a tyrant, and giving Hagar direction how she might get into Egypt, from whence (according to abolitionism) she had been unrighteously sold into bondage, the angel addressed her as 'Hagar, Sarah's maid,' (Gen. xvi. 1, 9.) thereby recognizing the relation of master and slave, and asks her, 'Whither wilt thou go? And she said, 'I flee from the face of my mistress.' Quite a wonder she honored Sarah so much as to call her mistress. But she knew nothing of abolition, and God, by his angel, did not become her teacher.

"We have now arrived at what may be called an *abuse* of the institution in which one person is the property of another, and under their control and subject to their authority without their consent; and if the Bible be the book which proposes to furnish the case which leaves it without doubt that God abhors the institution, here we are to look at it. What, therefore, is the doctrine in relation to slavery, in a case in which the rigid exercise of its arbitrary authority is called forth upon a helpless female, who might use a strong plea for protection, upon the ground of being the master's wife? In the face of this case which is hedged around with aggravations, as if God designed by it to awaken all the sympathy and all the abhorrence of that portion of mankind who claim to have more mercy than God himself—but, I say, in view of this strong case, what is the doctrine taught? Is it that God abhors the institution of slavery; that it is a reproach to good men; that the evils of the institution can no longer be winked at among saints; that Abraham's character must not be transmitted to posterity with this stain upon it; that Sarah must no longer be allowed to live a stranger to the abhorrence God has for such conduct as she has been guilty of to this poor helpless female? I say, what is the doctrine taught? Is it so plain that it can be easily understood; and does God teach that she is a bond-woman or slave, and that she is to recognize Sarah as her mistress, and not her equal; that she must return and submit herself unreservedly to Sarah's authority? Judge for yourself, reader, by the angel's answer: 'And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Return unto thy mistress, and submit thyself unto her hands.' Gen. xvi. 9."

We have already sufficiently established the Divine sanction of slavery during the Patriarchal age by the proof that Abraham, while enjoying the Divine approbation and favor, was a slaveholder. But we may go farther, and show that this very relation was recognized and blessed in the covenant which God made with Abraham. Not that God made the covenant with Abraham *and his servants*, (for that we should find no warrant in the scriptural writings,) but that he designed and directed that the token of this covenant should be placed upon every servant "that was born in his house, *and upon*

him that was bought with his money." Gen. xvii. 13. This was something more than a bare permission to enjoy the service of his slaves during life.

Abraham died as he had lived, a rich man, with flocks and herds, possessed of silver and gold, and men-servants and maid-servants, and camels, and asses. The Lord had *blessed* him, and gave him all these; (Gen. xxiv. 35;) had blessed him in giving to him *slaves*. Before his death, the old man bethought him of the "son of promise," and desired that Isaac should not take a wife of the daughters of the Canaanites, but should marry one of his own country and his own kindred. So Abraham called unto him his eldest servant, and required that he should "make oath that it should be as he had desired." The servant having taken the oath, departed into that country in search of the wife. The story is one of those beautifully touching episodes in familiar oriental life which render the Bible attractive to men of taste, and instructive and interesting to all. It is familiar, yet we cannot forbear painting the prominent features. The purpose of the mission was accomplished. Rebekah accompanies the messenger. And as Isaac went out into the fields at eventide to meditate, he saw afar off the faithful servant returning with his camels. Beside him there walks a veiled female—the wife whom the servant had been sent after. "And Isaac brought her in to his mother Sarah's tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife, and he loved her; and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death." The faithful servant had discharged his oath. How had he discharged it? Read the statement he makes to Rebekah's parents, and you will discover the purpose for which this narrative has been cited. When bidden to speak his errand, he begins: "I am Abraham's servant. And the Lord hath blessed my master greatly,

and he is become great; and he hath given him flocks and herds, and silver and gold, *and men-servants and maid-servants*, and camels and asses. And Sarah, my master's wife, bare a son to my master when she was old; *and unto him* [*i. e.*, Isaac] *hath he given all that he hath.*" The remaining portion of the statement may be found in Gen. xxiv. 37-50. Now, whether or not Rebekah was urged by this feature of the narrative to make the prompt decision she did make, when asked if she would go with the man, we will not take it upon ourselves to determine. Certain it is, neither her parents nor herself objected to Isaac that he had inherited his father's slaves along with his silver and gold, his flocks and herds, and camels and asses. So Isaac, too, was a slaveholder—Isaac, the son of promise, whom God blessed, and to whom he declared at Gerar, "I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all these countries, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; *because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws.*" Gen. xxvi. 4, 5. Here we have a double sanction of slavery, declared in explicit terms, in the blessing of a slaveholder, the son of a slaveholder, of whom it is said, "He hath kept God's charge, and commandments, and statutes, and laws!" Could language be more emphatic or more comprehensive? Would a modern abolitionist echo this blessing in terms, or even utter a feeble *Amen* to it?

Passing over a period of several centuries, from the time that Jehovah meets and blesses Isaac in Gerar to the delivery of the law from Sinai, we shall hear the same God, from the thunders and lightnings of that mountain, as he proclaims his will to his people, declare, side by side with the commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false

witness against thy neighbor," this other commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, *nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant*, nor his ox, nor his ass, *nor any thing that is thy neighbor's.*" The God of Gerar and the God of Sinai speak the same voice. He is consistent with himself. He that blessed Isaac in his possessions as a slaveholder, enjoins on the descendants of Isaac in respect alike to a man's wife, and his man-servants and maid-servants, not only *that they should not be stolen*, but that they should not be coveted!

We are not surprised to find, in the laws promulgated by the Divine Author of the Decalogue, such passages as these:

"Both thy bondmen, and bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are around about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. *And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession: they shall be your bondmen for ever;* but over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor." Lev. xxv. 44–46.

"If thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant, but as a hired servant; and as a sojourner he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee until the year of jubilee, and then he shall depart from thee, both he and his children with them, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bondmen. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor, but shalt fear thy God." Lev. xxv. 39–43.

"If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself; if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have borne him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's

and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free; then his master shall bring him unto the judges: he shall also bring him to the door or unto the door-post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him forever." Exod. xxi. 2–6.

These were the statutes which the Divine Being ordained for the government of his peculiar people. They are the emanation of his wisdom and will concerning them. They contain the most emphatic endorsement and sanction of the right of property in man. This point cannot be more satisfactorily sustained than by the simple citation of such language as this. It will be enough for the purposes of Southern slavery if the statutes we have cited, and other citations made, establish that slavery is not a *malum in se*—is not an absolute and universal evil.[2]

The testimony which the New Testament Scriptures furnish on the subject of slavery as a Divinely ordained institution, is not, we are free to admit, of so emphatic a character as that furnished by the Old. But there is nothing in the New Testament writings which would induce an impartial examinant to modify the views he would derive from searching the Old. It cannot be doubted that the question of slavery was presented as a practical question to the Saviour. It was all around and about him—in Galilee, and Samaria, and Judea. Slavery in every form, we are told, was abundant in that age. The sight of a slave was a much more familiar sight to Christ than to a modern abolitionist. Our Saviour himself not unfrequently refers to the relation of master and slave, to enforce his lessons upon the people. Many of his most impressive parables were drawn from it. In many of his discourses he alludes to it. While we would not, perhaps, be justified in saying that these allusions to and use of this

relation express a full sanction of slavery, yet it can hardly be imagined that if it were a *malum in se*, a gross moral wrong to hold slaves in bondage, the Saviour would so have referred to it. As was properly remarked by a learned divine, if the Saviour had deemed slavery a heinous sin, a moral wrong *semper et ubique*, he would surely have made a different use of it. To instance: In the case of the parable of the ten talents, instead of comparing the relation we sustain as servants to our Heavenly Master to the relation subsisting between the lord and his servants, he would doubtless have drawn therefrom a lesson which, being translated, would run thus: "If, in a relation which is the mere result of brute force, without right, and sinful on the part of the master, the master expects and enforces implicit obedience, and the use of all the talents and capabilities of his slaves, how much more should God, your Creator, and Maker, and rightful master, expect and enforce such obedience from his creatures!" In the holy writings we nowhere have any such argument adduced, or any the remotest implication that the existence of slavery was itself wrong, or the result of wrong. Everywhere it is dealt with as if it were right and expedient. There is a slavery denounced, but it is the slavery of the soul to sin; and freedom from that is spoken of a blessing. Of that slavery, Christ and his apostles were not chary in declaring its abomination in the sight of God and of holy men. One instance only have we in the New Testament in which the practical question as to the right of the master over the slave arose for the consideration of an inspired apostle, and in that case the course pursued is in exact conformity with the conduct of the angel in the case of Hagar. Our readers will understand that we allude to Onesimus. Paul's letter to Philemon, sent by this slave,

is a brief but complete and satisfactory exposition of the duty of both master and servant in the contingency for which it was written. The epistle would seem to have been preserved among the inspired records to condemn the conduct of modern agitators, who verily think they do God service by breaking his laws and robbing their neighbors. We shall cite the entire letter:

"Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy our brother, unto Philemon our dearly beloved, and fellow-laborer, and to our beloved Apphia, and Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the church in thy house: Grace to you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers; hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints; that the communication of thy faith may become effectual by the acknowledging of every good thing which is in you in Christ Jesus. For we have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the bowels of the saints are refreshed by thee, brother. Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee, being such an one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ. I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten in my bonds: which in time past was to thee unprofitable, but now profitable to thee and to me: whom I have sent again; thou therefore receive him, that is, mine own bowels: whom I would have retained with me, that in thy stead he might have ministered unto me in the bonds of the gospel; but without thy mind would I do nothing; that thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly. For perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldest receive him for ever: not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved, specially to me, but how much more unto thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord? If thou count me therefore a partner, receive him as myself. If he hath wronged thee, or oweth thee aught, put that on mine account: I Paul have written it with mine own hand, I will repay it: albeit I do not say to thee how thou owest unto me even thine own self besides. Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord: refresh my bowels in the Lord. Having confidence in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say. But withal prepare me also a lodging; for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you,

There salute thee Epaphras, my fellow-prisoner in Christ Jesus; Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellow laborers. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen.

If abolitionists had an *index expurgatorius*, we fancy this epistle would head the list. And there are also other passages of the New Testament which, in all probability, they would gladly expunge. We allude to those in which the duties of this relation are explained; in which the servant is enjoined to obedience—an obedience which should not be marked by mere eye-service, but obedience from the heart, an obedience which is to be rendered to the froward as well as to the good and gentle master. They are such as these:

"Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same he shall receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free." Eph. vi. 5–8.

"Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but in singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord and not unto men." Col. iii. 22, 23.

"Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit." 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2.

"Exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again; not purloining, but showing all good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things." Titus ii. 9, 10.

"Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward." 1 Pet. ii. 18.

It is in vain that such passages are sought to be perverted from their plain and obvious effect. They clearly and certainly recognize the relation as existent and in full force, and as creating the obligation of hearty obedience on the part of the servant *to his own master*, "not to all men, or to the masters of other slaves." "This duty of obedience does depend on the justice of the authority which the master claims."[1] While commanding the slaves to obey, the apostles do not forget the masters in the distribution of their precepts. Masters are enjoined to "forbear threatening," (Eph. vi. 9,) and "to render to their servants what is just and equal." Col. iv. 1. This seems to be the extent of the apostolic injunctions to masters. The Christian master is not commanded to manumit his slaves, but to treat them well. Does this evidence an opinion on the part of the apostle that slavery was a "heinous sin?" If that had been the case, would not the injunction to manumit have been given? In the absence of such an injunction, are we not warranted in saying that the apostle did *not* so regard it, but, contrariwise, deemed the relation in itself a moral and lawful one, and therefore undertook to regulate the reciprocal duties of the Christian master and Christian slave? If there be any flaw in this reasoning, we are unable to detect it, and we are sincerely anxious to know what the Scriptures do teach on this subject. What we said at the beginning, we repeat here: if the oracles of Jehovah teach that slavery is a moral wrong, *semper et ubique*, at all times and in all places, and that it ought to be abolished, at whatever cost of money or of blood, the commands of Jehovah ought to be obeyed. But if they do teach, as we think they do, that slavery is a lawful institution, not in itself sinful, and that its continuance and existence are allowable, in con-

formity to the Divine will, then it is alike the duty of the Christian to submit his own will and his own prejudices to the teachings of the Holy Scriptures.*

* It may not be amiss to refer, in this connection, to the following remarks submitted in the Senate of the United States by Mr. Benton, in 1829. They contain an ample vindication of the position assumed in the text, and are themselves an eloquent exposition of the manner in which Christ and his apostles dealt with the subject of slavery. "Sir," said Mr. B., "I regard with admiration, that is to say, with wonder, the sublime morality of those who cannot bear the abstract contemplation of slavery at the distance of five hundred or a thousand miles off. It is entirely above, that is to say, it affects a vast superiority over the morality of the primitive Christians, the apostles of Christ, and Christ himself. Christ and the apostles appeared in a province of the Roman empire, when that empire was called the Roman world, and that world was filled with slaves. Forty millions was the estimated number, being one-fourth of the whole population. Single individuals held twenty thousand slaves. A freed man, who had himself been a slave, died the possessor of four thousand: such were the numbers. The right of the owners over this multitude of human beings was that of life and death, without protection from law or mitigation from public sentiment. The scourge, the cross, the fish-pond, the den of the wild beast, and the arena of the gladiator, was the lot of the slave, upon the slightest expression of the master's will. A law of incredible atrocity made all slaves responsible with their own lives for the life of their master: it was the law that condemned the whole household of slaves to death, in case of the assassination of the master- a law under which as many as four hundred have been executed at a time. And these slaves were the white people of Europe and of Asia Minor, the Greeks and other nations, from whom the present inhabitants of the world derive the most valuable productions of the human mind. Christ saw all this: the number of the slaves; their hapless condition; and their white color, which was the same with his own; yet he said nothing against slavery; he preached no doctrines which led to insurrection and massacre; none which, in their application to the state of things in our country, would authorize an inferior race of blacks to exterminate that superior race of whites, in whose ranks he himself appeared upon earth. He preached no such doctrines, but those of a contrary tenor, which inculcated the duty of fidelity and obedience on the part of the slave, humanity and

In view of such overwhelming testimony afforded by these scriptures of the Divine approbation of slavery, can it be credited that they are appealed to as condemning it? Yet it is even so. Many of the bitterest opponents of slavery declare their opposition to it because it is inconsistent with the will of God as set forth in the Bible. They read there a law which says, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;" and again, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." They discover in these two precepts a principle diametrically opposed to slavery. One of these has said—"Were this precept [the one last cited] obeyed, it is manifest that slavery could not in fact exist for a single instant. The principle of the precept is absolutely subversive of the principle of slavery." This is one of the strongholds of the anti-slavery advocate; and if we compel him to surrender it, we shall have gone far to convert him to the truth. The answer we think is complete. Jesus Christ declared of the "law" that its essence was contained in two items—supreme love to God, and love to one's neighbor: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." This "law" of which the Saviour spake embraced the law of the Decalogue, from which we have before cited, and in which, as we have seen, slavery is protected, and the injunction is given, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, *nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant,* nor his

kindness on the part of the master. His apostles did the same. St. Paul sent back a runaway slave, Onesimus, to his owner, with a letter of apology and supplication. He was not the man to harbor a runaway, much less to entice him from his master; and, least of all, to excite an insurrection."

ox, nor his ass, *nor any thing that is thy neighbor's.*" Can it be possible that the Lawgiver of Sinai and Christ are at issue? When Christ declares that the two principles of supreme love to God and love to one's neighbor *embraced the whole law*, did he mean to say that they embodied a part and not the whole of it? Still worse, did he mean that one of those principles conflicted with the law? Did he mean that if the whole of that law were promulgated, this principle, "Love your neighbor as yourself," would be utterly subversive of an institution which the law, in one of its items, was designed to protect and secure? We might rest the question here, and leave it to the objector to set at rights this manifest division between the persons of the Holy Trinity which his declaration produces. If it be true, as he says it is true, that the principle of slavery and the Bible principle of love to one's neighbor are antagonistic, then there is no escape from the conclusion that the God of Sinai and the Christ who expounded his law are at issue. To remove this contrariety it will be necessary to show that the interpretation put upon the command to love your neighbor as yourself, by modern anti-slavery writers, is not the true one. We say it with all the emphasis of which we are capable, that the principle of slavery does not conflict with the proper lines of the law of human love; that, on the contrary, in many cases, and in the particular case of American slavery, the proper exercise of the principle, "Love your neighbor as yourself," demands the continuance of the institution.

By the precept, "Love your neighbor as yourself," and by that other precept (being the same in another form,) "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you," we are not to understand as taught that whatever one man may lawfully desire in one condition of life,

another may lawfully desire in another condition of life; and that the master is, therefore, in applying the rule of love, to measure the proper desires of his servant by his own. If it be right for the servant, taking into consideration justice to the master, the safety and welfare of society, and the welfare of the servant himself; if it be right for the servant, in view of all these considerations, to desire freedom, then it is certainly true that the master, in the proper exercise of this Christian principle of love, should set him free. But if, on the other hand, it be not right for the servant to desire freedom, because of any of the considerations named, or for any other sufficient reason, then it is equally clear that, in the exercise of the same principle, the master should not manumit him, but should hold him in bondage. Let us illustrate the practical operation of this principle in a hypothetical case, the parallel to which any Southern city can furnish. A. is a servant of B. B. has purchased him at a very high price. With his powers as a mechanic, A. is nevertheless naturally unthrifty, negligent, and lazy. He needs an overseer—some one to compel him to work; otherwise, he would become a drunken and dissipated wretch, scarcely able to earn bread enough to live upon, much less to rear up a family. A. is now in B.'s service, and works well. The master gives him food and clothing, and supplies him with all the necessaries of life. He has a wife and family, all of whom are under the control of his master, and A. is as happy and contented as is the master who owns him. In such a case, the question of manumission is presented to B. One at his elbow suggests, "You have no right to hold A. in bondage. The God that made you declares that 'you must love your neighbor as yourself;' that you 'must do to others as you would have them do to you.' If you were

in A.'s place, you would desire freedom. Christian love to A. must prompt you to set him free." "But," responds B., "I cannot set him free. As he is, he is filling the station God designed him to fill. He is a faithful, steady servant. He works well as a servant. His labors are of great pecuniary advantage to me, and of utility to the place in which I live. He has all the necessary comforts of life; a wife and family well taken care of, and provided for as he is himself. If I manumit him, I will do him an injury. I will not deny that he may desire freedom, but he is (as all of his race are) naturally unthrifty and negligent, and he lacks forethought. If I set him free, together with his family, as my neighbor N. did in the case of his servants, like them, in a few months—years at farthest—A. and his family will become vicious and filthy in their habits, an eyesore to all passers-by, and some of them, perhaps, tenants of the jail or penitentiary. I believe my duty to A. and to A.'s family, and the love you speak of, alike require that I should keep him in his present state of servitude. He is a happier and better man, as a servant, than he would be if he were free." In the case put, is not B.'s reasoning sound? Yet if B. had measured A.'s desires by his own, he would have given him and his family their freedom; and in so doing, would have violated rather than obeyed the law of Christian love, by inflicting upon his servant the evils he enumerates. The servant is not prepared for struggling as a freeman in the battle of life: he is not fitted for the position into which he would be thrust by manumission; hence his ruin by securing freedom. Dr. Bledsoe has happily expressed the thought we are here enforcing: "*A foolish desire, we repeat, in one relation of life, is not a good reason for a foolish or injurious act in another relation thereof.*" He continues:

"The precept which requires us to do as we would be done by, was intended to enlighten the conscience. It is used by abolitionists to hoodwink and deceive the conscience. This precept directs us to conceive ourselves placed in the condition of others, in order that we may the more clearly perceive what is due to them. The abolitionist employs it to convince us that, because we desire liberty for ourselves, we should extend it to all men, even to those who are not qualified for its enjoyment, and to whom it would prove 'the greatest possible injury.' He employs it not to show us what is due to others, but to persuade us to injure them! He may deceive himself; but so long as we believe what even he admits as highly probable—namely, that the 'abolition of slavery would be the greatest possible injury to the slaves themselves'—we shall never use the Divine precept as an instrument of delusion and of wrong. What! inflict the greatest injury on our neighbor, and that, too, out of pure Christian charity?"

If this reasoning be sound, it follows that, in some cases, it is an act of disservice and positive injustice to the slave to manumit him. In such cases, it is clear that slavery does not conflict with the proper exercise of the principle, "Love your neighbor as yourself." Slavery, as it exists at the present day in the Southern States of this Union, constitutes, we think, one of the cases in which justice and love to the slave require that the institution should continue to exist. Some of our opponents will admit that slavery, as known among us, is of the most mitigated form; that it has resulted in no little advantage to the slaves themselves; and that it compares in no wise with the abjecter servitude which prevailed in the Eastern countries in Patriarchal times or when our Saviour lived, or even with the slavery of Africa at this day. Fictions may be written to unfold to an astonished world the horrors of American slavery; but we have no conception that their authors either credit them themselves, or that their readers believe them to be veritable descriptions of the reality. These readers know or should know that the main merit

of such productions consists in the strength of imagination and vividness of fancy which their authors have brought to the task. Slavery, if presented in its true guise, would hardly afford material fit for the use of these latter-day romancists, who deal in stories to "curdle the blood, and make the hair stand on end." Without taking into the account, then, the false sentiment which such works may have created, it will hardly be questioned by those whose opinions are worth regarding, that the slavery with us is of the most mitigated form. We say more: Our slavery has exalted the race who are its subjects from a state of gross barbarism to a state of comparative civilization. We say more: The race subjected to slavery among us is yet imcompetent to govern or provide for itself; and if such a thing as universal emancipation were practicable, and could the race at once be separated from the whites, it would again speedily lapse into barbarism. Even amid the restraining influences of the highest civilization, the individual instances of emancipation attest what we have said, that, as a people, they are incompetent and improvident, and utterly unable to maintain decently themselves or their families. In the character of slaves, they have been useful, and have advanced rather than retarded the prosperity of our people. Such being the advantages, on the one hand, of keeping them in servitude, and such being the disadvantages, on the other, of setting them free, the argument for the extinction of slavery must be overwhelming, indeed, before we can be brought to believe that it is either just, or right, or expedient to manumit our slaves. As they are, they live happily and contented: as the abolitionists propose to have them, they would be neither happy nor contented, and would too often be unable to secure either food or lodging. As they are,

they render service to their masters and to the community, and fill up the sphere for which their capacities and character adapt them: in the position in which they would be thrust by setting them free, they would be incompetent to discharge aright the duties they would owe to the public or to themselves, but would become charges upon the one and curses to the other.

If these statements be true—and may we not appeal to facts to support every assertion we have made—it is evident that our duty, our Christian duty, guided by the principle of that maxim which anti-slavery advocates so frequently urge, demands that in lieu of setting our slaves free, and depriving them of our oversight and care, we should retain them in their present station, until such improvement is discerned and exemplified in the race as will afford reliable evidence that liberty will be to them a blessing and not a curse.

THE NEW LITERATURE.*

It is a gratifying feature of the times that so much talent is effectively employed in the service of Truth. In happy ignorance of the actual state of the matter, one might presume that talent would always be thus employed —that it would spurn the service of Error, and cast off its livery as a hated and despicable master. Yet how fallacious such an opinion. Tested by every day experience, it would appear that talent had engaged its noblest offices to every other purpose save the defence of truth,—that for this alone it had disdained to use its powers, or, if to use them at all, to do so inefficiently and feebly. What a display of talent, for example, in the department of Fiction—characterizing by the term every species of literature presenting false or exaggerated views of life? How much of thrilling eloquence, of dramatic ability, of powerful narrative? If we may trust ourself to read the pages of modern novelists of this type, we shall weep over the imaginary wrongs of some innocent heroine, while our ears are deaf and our sensibilities unawakened to the cry for bread at our doors, and the petition for relief on our streets. Or, if our novelist author has seasoned his dish

* *Confessions of a Converted Infidel; with Lights and Shadows of Itinerant Life, and Miscellaneous Sketches.* By Rev. JOHN BAYLEY, of the Virginia Annual Conference. Third Edition. New York: M. W. Dodd, Publisher. 1856.

for the mental palate with the ordinary condiments of latter-day fiction, we shall discover in ourself an unwonted eagerness for the success of the well-polished villain, in his scheme of villainy, while the victim of his vices, adorned erewhile with the virtues of womanly modesty and the graces of refined and delicate sentiment, secures neither pity nor remorse. Or, we are introduced, it may be, into an unnatural and unreal world, in which though there be upon its inhabitants the blight of sin, its streams of felicity are perennial and its sweets ever enduring. What a display of talent in the coteries of fashion? If we shall visit them, we will find the sparkle of wit, the frolic of humour, and the play of satire—all actively enlisted, not always in the advancement of truth, but making what efforts they may for its annihilation. At the best, society, ordinarily so called, is but a contrivance for the assassination of time!—"time, destined to perish by a mightier hand, but men are willing to assist in its destruction."*

Turning to the professions and business pursuits of life, we shall discover the frequent and vast efforts of talent in building up the wrong and pulling down the right. We are not inclined to echo the slanders perpetrated against the professions particularly. We cannot entertain the opinion uttered by some, even of respectable attainments, that no man can be a lawyer and a Christian! Yet, how few of the legal profession are numbered among Christ's people? How few have studied the truly "higher law" of his kingdom, and have deemed it more honour to fill the lowest seat at his table than to gain a heritage of fame! Of medical men, how many have found in secondary causes the origin of things; and have neglected the higher analysis of the immortal and imperishable part of

* John Foster.

man to devote attention exclusively to the merely mortal and perishing! We repeat, that observation teaches the lesson that Talent has not always been enlisted in the service of truth. And when thus employed, as sometimes it has been, its efforts have, in great part, been feeble and inefficient. Truth lay hid and buried in the ponderous octavos and unreadable quartos of the past century, while Error was disseminated in sprightly essays and vivacious volumes. We rejoice that a change has been wrought here;—that the children of light have learned wisdom from the children of darkness, and that sanctified talent has at last been taught the lesson that precious knowledge may be communicated to the masses better in the tract than in the treatise, better in a volume of unpretending proportions than in a body of divinity. We are gratified that it has learned more—that in order to be read, in order to accomplish the very purpose for which books are written, books must be made interesting as well as instructive—must have the graces of a perspicuous style as well as an abundance of ripe thought. Few men are so highly gifted as to justify the venture to make their writings obscure in order that they may be studied. The *Oi Polloi* are now the rulers in the republic of letters—as well of Christian letters, distinctively so called, as of what is unhappily denominated profane literature; and the *Oi Polloi* demand that those who cater for their mental religious appetite, shall create the appetite as well as supply its wants. We regret that the fact is so. We would have truth sought for herself, because she is Truth. But complainings will not remedy the evil. Nor will it do to stand off and deliver learned divinity to a public mind that cannot retain the pith of a single sermon. We must come down to the capacities of the people, if we cannot lift them up to our

ordinary tone of discourse. We must give them the nourishment they can digest, for nourishment they will have, and if we do not give them food of a character adapted to their capacities, they will find noxious poisons which, not allaying their hunger, will destroy the little of mental health and vitality that remains. It is for these reasons that we are gratified that men of talent, of thinking power, have not deemed it an unworthy office to supply such mental pabulum, and that while they might easily have constructed systems of divinity, they have preferred to present truth in its fragments in order to entrap into the way of right thinking the languid and almost listless reader of modern literature, and to pour over his intellect a tide of fresh and pure thought to quicken it to a healthful activity. The time has arrived for such works. When John Foster published his volume of essays, containing the essay on "Decision of Character," and that on "The Use of the Epithet Romantic," works characterized by the highest eloquence and by profound thought, he did so with fear and trembling; and was gratified that his volume had met with even a moderate success. A quarter of a century afterwards, "a kind of moral essay," such as Foster produced, would have fallen still-born from the press, while the current of modern fiction, embracing alike with the higher qualities of imagination and artistic power displayed in "Vanity Fair," "Dombey and Son," and "Jane Eyre," the disgusting detail of the lives of "Dick Turpin, the Highwayman," and "Edwards, the Forger," would have been devoured with avidity! Fortunately, the supply of the baser material has so completely glutted the intellectual appetite, that the taste for such delicacies has in a measure diminished, and is daily diminishing. One may even confess without a blush, in the literary circles of

the day, that he has not read Dickens's last work, and is wholly oblivious of, if he ever saw, the latest productions of Bennett, or Reynolds! In this decline of the modern Novel, taking its march into oblivion after its predecessor, the Romance, it is peculiarly happy that Fact and Reality are gaining their rightful power, and that Religious Fact has now an opportunity to assert its dominion.

We have placed at the beginning of this article the title of a work recently published, of this type. We hail its appearance as indicative of a higher literature for the reading public, and its extended circulation as evidencing that the public mind is now at least in part prepared for a purer and more healthful style of thought than has distinguished the days just numbered with the past.

Mr. Bayley's book is autobiographic throughout, though he may not probably have designed it as such. In the Lights and Shades of Itinerant Life and in the moral essays, as well as in his avowed Confessions, he is disclosing to us the actual progress of his own mind—a mind intensely active and stored with thought and eminently self reflective while touching at many points the external world, and deriving pleasure and profit from the contact. We have an antipathy to the title "Confessions." We associate with it the so-called disclosures of Rousseau, his pompous bombast and his causeless and impertinent self-abasement—self-abasement having more the air of self-exaltation than of repentance, more of the spirit of the carnally proud than of the spiritually humble. We would be inclined also to condemn these "Confessions of a Converted Infidel,' if they were of this type or approached it. But this is far from being true. They are a plain and unvarnished tale of the manner in which the author trod the pathway to infidelity and of his deliverance from its

unhappy power. Our author was born in an ancient borough of old England. In early childhood he lost the training of a mother. Before he had reached his fifth birth-day she was laid in the grave. His father was unhappily an admirer of Paine, Volney and Voltaire, and possibly this parental example had somewhat to do with the early aversion which he cherished toward the Bible and the avidity with which his mind fastened itself upon its unpalatable truths, leading him to discard its teachings altogether. A course of miscellaneous reading, conversation with the leaders of the infidel party, misuse of the Sabbath for purposes of recreation, contrast of the rich and wealthy with the humble and destitute, completed the work of transformation and the author became a confirmed infidel. In that spirit he bade a farewell to his native land "to see the operations of Deism" in America. A companion blessed him on his way with the exhortation "that he had been inoculated with the truth and must spread it." After passing many years in the northern portion of the Union, he came to Virginia to learn another system of truth, and to become its ardent and zealous defender. By a series of not very wonderful providences, he is led gently along to retrace his steps, to converse again with the pious and the pure, to read books of wholesome doctrine and finally to renounce his infidelity and to embrace in intellect the truth of the Christian religion. We must cite here a passage disclosing this gradual change of mind: "I began to look upon religion and religious people with more respect and to attend more frequently the house of God. It was some time after this before my heart was sufficiently humbled to lead me to the practice of prayer. Indeed, I still thought, with a marvellous inconsistency, that prayer to the Almighty was very absurd.

And one day I walked into the solitude of the woods to think over the subject, with the intention of writing an essay upon it. As I was walking about, I thought, 'If God is infinite in knowledge, why should we inform him of our own wants, since he knew them before? If he is infinitely wise, why should we attempt to direct him? If he is infinitely good, why should we endeavor to prevail upon him to supply our wants? And, above all, if he is unchangeable, why should we solicit him to change?' In the midst of these reflections, my attention was arrested by a plaintive and earnestly supplicating voice, and going in the direction from which the voice came, I saw a negro man on his knees, under a tree, with hands clasped together and uplifted to heaven, while he cried out with great earnestness, 'Jesus, Master, have mercy upon me a poor sinner!' And this he continued to repeat. The poor fellow did not observe me, so intently was he engaged in prayer. An awful feeling came over my soul; I forgot my essay, and walked back to town musing on the power of religion. That negro was happily converted, and many a time afterward have we met together at our sunrise prayer meetings, and in the use of other means of grace. These impressions, however, wore off, and it was not until it pleased the Lord to lay me upon a bed of sickness that I was led to renounce publicly my infidel sentiments, and to seek an interest in the atonement made for the whole human race by our Lord Jesus Christ."

While he lay on the bed of disease, the letter of an absent sister from across the Atlantic reached him and touched his heart. He longed to be a Christian that he might say, that if they met no more on earth they would meet in heaven. This at least would be something cheering to write; and she had told him that his letters were

unhappy and made her so. Here was the turning point in his experience. He had found before that Butler's Analogy was able to remove all his positive objections to the truths of the Christian religion, but he had not yet cherished the spirit which prompted to a cheerful and hearty surrender to its claims. "The Christian religion became," he says, "something very lovely and desirable in my sight, and though it was several months before I could make the change in my sentiments known, there was a decided change from that hour." The strugglings with conscience were not yet over: We must cite his graphic description of his conversion: "The devil was endeavoring to retain me in his bondage and I could find no rest to my spirit. I wandered into the woods in the neighborhood, and there, in the silence of the groves, sat down and wept. Often did I make up my mind to unbosom myself to some one, and as often did pride gain the mastery over me, and compel me to keep my secret. Never, while memory retains her power, shall I forget one holy Sabbath morning, when I paid a visit to the Baptist church, to hear the Rev. Mr. Fife. He gave out the hymn commencing,

> 'Jesus! and shall it ever be,—
> A mortal man ashamed of thee?'

When the congregation began to sing the hymn, I looked around with a heavy heart; my lips were sealed, and I could not utter a word, and a voice in my inmost soul seemed to say, 'Yes, sinner, that is you—you are the only one in this congregation ashamed of Christ.' For it seemed to me that with one united heart and voice that congregation did worship Christ as a God. My troubled heart would not allow me to pay much attention to the

sermon; but I went home weary and heavy laden, anxious to obtain rest, and yet obstinately and foolishly refusing to seek it in God's appointed way. Falling into the company of some young men who had recently been converted, I made some enquiries about religion, to which they gave me evasive answers, supposing that I wanted to get into a controversy with them. Seeing their unwillingness to converse with me on the subject, my heart was grieved and my eyes were filled with tears. One of them said, 'Are you sick? you had better lie down.' And though I assured them that I was not sick, they all left the room. As soon as I was left alone, a voice in my heart seemed to say, Sinner, you should kneel down and pray. It was the wooing voice of Christ, leading the blind by a way that he knew not; but, to my shame let it be written, I thought that perhaps some one would come in and see me at prayer. So I took the key of Mr. James Jackson's store, and went to that place and locked myself in, and soon was upon my knees. With a heart tossed to and fro by a variety of conflicting emotions, I began, 'O Lord, if thou didst ever hear prayer—' Here I came to a pause, and repeated the '*if*,' and it occurred to my mind that it was very absurd to pray in that way, since God had caused it to be written in his word, 'Without faith it is impossible to please Him; he that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.' Strange as it may seem, I rose from my knees without offering up a prayer. I then opened the Bible and read the eighth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, at which place I happened to open undesignedly. This was entirely above my comprehension, and it occurred to my mind that I had once read it before, and asked my father if he understood it; to which he replied,

'No, nor does any one else—it is a heap of nonsense.' Finding nothing to relieve me here, I closed the book and left the store, and endeavored to shake off my feelings in another way. Some few weeks afterward Mr. Childs had an appointment in the village. It was in the Christmas time, and though the backsliding which generally follows great religious excitements had not commenced, there was no unusual manifestation of religious feeling at that time in the community. I was one of the congregation that night, but I have no recollection of the preacher's text, nor of his discourse. All that I know is, that he fixed his piercing eyes upon me at the close of the discourse, descended from the pulpit, walked deliberately to me, took me by the hand, and said, 'Get down on your knees, and begin to pray.' I fell down trembling without a word, and began to pray and cry aloud for mercy. Thus the struggle, as far as regards my recantation of infidelity, was over, and I was before the congregation a weeping penitent suing for mercy at the foot of the cross. I remained on my knees until the congregation was dismissed, when some one came to me and whispered in my ear that I ought to go home and pray there. As soon as I got to my room, I saw a friend with whom I lodged at the time, sitting by a table reading; and throwing myself upon my knees by the bedside, I asked him to pray for me. He immediately left the room, and sent Mr. Childs, and several other brethren, who came to my room, and held a little prayer-meeting until about midnight. After they had left me, I remained up all night in a state that I have no language to describe. It appeared to me that I had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost, the sin which hath no forgiveness, and I was afraid to lie down and sleep, lest I should die, and wake up in hell. I re-

mained in my room all the next day, meditating, praying and reading, and at night went to a prayer-meeting, at which John Morris, a colored man, who has since gone to Liberia as a missionary, made a profession of religion. At that meeting one against whom I had taken up a prejudice, put his arms around me and tried to encourage me to believe, but it had a chilling effect upon my feelings, and as I walked home that night, I thought I should give up the struggle and become worse than I had ever been. But the next day my convictions returned with increased power, and I lay on my bed almost in the agonies of despair. While reflecting on my past life, and on the great subject of religion, I was bewildered; my reason seemed to be forsaking me; and then it was suggested to my mind, you will lose your reason, and then you will certainly be lost, for religion is a reasonable thing, and no one who is not in his right mind, can repent and believe in Christ. This alarmed me greatly, and I turned over in my bed and cried aloud, so that some of the neighbors came in to see what was the matter. Among others, my dear departed friend, Brother Wm. Blanton, came in and knelt by my bedside and prayed for me. The conversation of Mr. James M. Jackson, Mr. John Long, and others, was profitable and encouraging to my soul. I read Butler's chapter on the Mediatorial character of the Saviour, and was satisfied with regard to the correctness of the author's positions; but still there was a mountain of unbelief on my heart, and I could not trust in God for salvation. Though I saw clearly that God had promised to forgive the sins of all who believe in Jesus, I could not understand *how* this could be done, and therefore I would not believe. After all my company left me, I rose from my bed and sat down by the fire in profound medi-

tation. The little negro boy who sat in one corner of the room looked very earnestly at me, and inquired,

"'What was the matter with you when you hallooed so?'

"'God was punishing me for my sins,' I replied.

"'What did that little man do for you?'

"'He prayed for me.'

"'Would God hear him?'

"'Here I was puzzled, and knew not what to answer. I thought, if I say no, I shall contradict the Scriptures, for God has said, 'Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and the door shall be opened to you.' And if I say yes, I shall not speak the truth, because I do not believe it. So I remained in silence. With a sigh the little boy exclaimed, 'I wish I could pray.' I still made no reply, and he said, 'Won't you teach me to pray, sir?'

"'You must ask the Lord to teach you,' I responded.

"'Must I? What must I say?' he again inquired.

"Struck with the earnestness of the little fellow, I began to be more attentive to him, and remembering a verse of a hymn which I had been taught when I was a little child, I said, say, 'Lord, teach a little child to pray.'

"He instantly knelt down at my feet, put his face to the floor, and whispered, 'Lord, teach a little child to pray?'

"The thought instantly flashed into my mind, if that little boy can believe in me, why cannot I believe in God. He says in his word, that He 'so loved the world as to give his only-begotten Son, that WHOSOEVER believeth in Him, might not perish, but have everlasting life.' This declaration embraces me, if I believe it, and whether I understand how it can be done or not, I must and will be-

lieve it on the authority of God himself. In a moment the burden seemed to fall from my heart. I felt greatly relieved; and though I did not take it for conversion at the time, from that moment I began to look at the Saviour with the eye of faith. When I laid down in bed that night, a couplet of one of Charles Wesley's hymns was continually suggested to my mind,—

'Now, e'en now, the Saviour stands,
All day long he spreads his hands.'

A friend read to me after I laid down the tenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which contains the same sentiment:—'But to Israel he saith, all day long have I stretched forth my hand to a gainsaying and rebellious people.' I was still more convinced of sin, and prayed more earnestly to God. Before I fell asleep the words of the Psalmist came to my mind, 'For his anger endureth but a moment; in his favor is life; weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.' I fell asleep in hope of obtaining a still clearer assurance of the pardoning mercy of God, and I was not disappointed. About four o'clock I awoke, and began to reflect, what am I? and the answer came to my mind in a moment, I am a child of God, and an heir of everlasting life, and then I began to sing in the beautiful language of Kirke White;—

'Once on the raging seas I rode,
The storm was loud, the night was dark,
The ocean yawn'd, and rudely blowed
The wind that toss'd my found'ring barque.

'Deep horror then my vitals froze,
Death struck, I ceased the tide to stem;
When suddenly a star arose,
It was the star of Bethlehem.

'It was my guide, my light, my all,
It bade my dark forebodings cease,
And through the storm and danger's thrall,
It lead me to the port of peace.'

My voice was feeble at first, but it gradually became louder, until my room-mate awoke, and asked me what was the matter. To which I replied, that my soul was happy, and that it made me feel comfortable in body and in mind. I arose from my bed, and continued in reading the Scriptures, prayer, and praise, until the break of day, when I took a walk on the banks of the Appomattox river, and on that memorable morning all things appeared more bright and beautiful than had ever before appeared to me. The trees, all withered and lifeless as they were, appeared to be covered with glory, and all Nature had a voice exhorting me to praise her great Creator. 'O sing unto the Lord a new song, for He hath done marvellous things. With his own right hand, and with his holy arm he hath gotten to himself the victory.' I felt then disposed to shake hands with every one that I met, and thought it strange when any one did not sympathize with me in my joy. I was not, however, without strong temptations. Satan continued to assail me with his fiery darts, and I had many a struggle with the powers of darkness, but I generally drove them away by singing and prayer."

The author subsequently becoming convinced of his duty to preach, at the earnest solicitation of his friends, began the ministry at once. He united himself with the itinerancy, and entered with cheerful heart upon its laborious duties. We have already said his entire book is autobiographic. The Lights and Shades of Itinerant Life are confessedly such, and disclose the sunshine and the storms of the travelling minister. These sketches are racily written and will

amply repay the curious reader. They tell us what the man of God sees and handles in his effort to do good, and how his philosophy and patience are put to the test alternately by awkward politeness and impudent swagger. The writer does not omit an occasion to shoot at folly as it flies, and his shot is usually effective. In illustrating the case of those who bless the Lord for a *free* gospel, meaning one that costs them nothing, he appends the following note:

"A penurious member of the church said in a religious meeting, 'I bless the Lord for a free gospel; I have been a member of the church for many years, and it has never cost me anything except *twenty-five cents!*' The preacher looked on him with mingled surprise and pity, and a small infusion of contempt, and said: 'God bless your stingy soul!'"

An extract from the sunny side of the itinerant life will be in place here:

"It must not be forgotten, however, while we are musing on these petty pains, which small as they are individually, in the aggregate are not to be despised, that the itinerant of the present day is free from many of the cares and anxieties that harass his brethren who lead a more settled life; nor that he has many advantages which flow from the nature of his wandering life. By a proper management of his time, and habits of self-denial, he may find opportunities for reading and reflection, and for the improvement of his own heart and mind. The great book of human nature is ever open to his view. Nature, with all her charms, smiles upon him, and spreads before him all her treasures. He has the privilege of visiting villages, towns, and cities, mountains and valleys, rivers and lakes, which he never would have seen if he had not been

an itinerant minister. Sometimes, as he communes in his closet with the master spirits of past ages, or as he pursues his solitary way through the woods, and forests, and gazes upon the sublime and beautiful scenes of nature, his heart swells with joy, and he blesses God who called him to this glorious work. He has the advantage, too, of free and familiar intercourse with many of the choice spirits of the Church of the living God. Still more: he enjoys the counsels, the prayers and the sympathy of the holiest among the children of God, and he looks forward to the time when he will mingle with them in the General Assembly of the Saints in the Glorious Land. When he sees these things by faith, he feels that he would not exchange positions with the wealthiest and the most honorable of the human race. On the other hand, he has a heavy load of care, and an awful responsibility to the world, to the Church, and to God. He occupies a perilous height, on which it is difficult to stand, and from which it would be damnation to fall. And, therefore, with the great apostle of the Gentiles, he exclaims, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' In the midst of grief or gladness, sickness or health, success or failure, he toils on, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. If he succeeds in winning souls for Christ, and building up the Church of God, he rejoices like one who has found a great treasure. Occasionally he has the mortification to find that his own brethren are the greatest obstacles in the way of his usefulness. Some Diotrephes, who 'loves to have the pre-eminence,' some Demas, who 'loves the present world,' or some cross-grained brother, whose whims and caprices have not been sufficiently attended to may raise a clamor against him; or some emissary of Satan

may succeed in raising prejudices against him, so that he is sent away from his field of labor, before the harvest is ripe. A stranger enters and reaps the crop. In his next field of labor, however, the case is altered. He is the reaper this time, and those who look only at the surface of things take him to be something; and yet he is the same man that he was before, while the circumstances around him are altered a little."

A Second trip across the Atlantic opens up in our author's history a fresh spring of delightful incidents, and under the titles "Home Again," "London," "Farewell," and "Reflections on the Ocean," he makes us familiar with his friendships and his dear loved ones at home. We regret our inability to make more than a simple reference to these and to the essays on "Reading," "Thinking," "Christian Conversation," "The Study of Human Nature," and "Superstition." From the article on "Loquacity," the longest and best of the sketches, we make a brief extract:

"Apart from higher considerations, it would be well for these incessant talkers to remember, that they lose much by their want of moderation in the exercise of their gifts. By monopolizing all the time, they prevent others who are their company from speaking, especially the modest and unassuming; and to say nothing of the injustice of such a course, in this land of equal rights, who can tell how much information, sparkling wit, and brilliant eloquence, they lose by their conduct? It has been remarked that celebrated authors, with few exceptions, have had little to say in company; but they have been great listeners—'swift to hear, slow to speak.' It might be well then, if those persons who are afflicted with the talking mania, would occasionally, at least, impose silence upon

themselves for a season. And this brings to mind an observation made by a shrewd gentleman in Richmond, Virginia. A love-feast had just been held in one of the city churches, in which very few persons had anything to say. When some one complained of the dulness of the meeting, that individual observed, that the meeting must have done good, for certain persons who were at it had not kept silence so long for many years! It is said, also, that one of the loquacious tribe went to a Quaker meeting, at which nothing was said, and he becoming excessively tired of it, went out in a pet, and exclaimed, 'That is enough to kill the d——l!' 'That is exactly what we want to do,' quietly remarked the Quaker."

It was an apt remark of Robert Hall that "it is the fortune of some men to labor under an incapacity of discerning living worth—a sort of moral virtuosi who form their estimate of character as the antiquarian of coins, by the rust of antiquity."

> "Urit enim fulgore suo, qui prægravat artes
> Infra se positas: extinctus amabitur idem."

We have not followed the timorous example set us by such critics; and we are assured that the reader who will consult the pages of our author, will not regret our departure, in the present instance, from a standard of judgment so narrow and contracted. For the ripe instruction with which the volume abounds, and chiefly of all, for its charming simplicity of style, we heartily commend this specimen of the New Literature.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE LEGAL PROFESSION.*

Our main purpose is not so much with Mr. Brown's book, as with a topic he has incidentally discussed—the ethics of the legal profession. We fully agree with him in the statement that his work has no pretensions to style. The frankness of the disclaimer will somewhat blunt the edge of criticism. As mere collectanea of anecdotes, and brief sketchings of legal biography, his volumes will prove to be passably interesting, and pleasant light reading; had their author claimed for them a higher position, they would unquestionably not have secured it. Humble, however, as are the claims of Mr. Brown's work, it should not go wholly unrebuked. We admit his perfect right to publish as many of his personal recollections as he may choose; and if designed and heralded as his own life, to mingle with it as much of egotism and self-laudation as may suit his taste; but we strongly question his right to devote largely more than a hundred pages of a work, professedly giving an account of the practice and practitioners of Pennsylvania, to a discussion of his own merits and position, while his recital of the character and life of such a man as Justice Washington is compressed into about twenty. The disproportion may not have been noted by

* *The Forum; or, Forty Years Full Practice at the Philadelphia Bar.* By DAVID PAUL BROWN. Two Volumes. Philadelphia: Robert H. Small, Law Bookseller, No. 21 S. Sixth Street, 1856.

Mr. Brown. He may possibly imagine that each has been treated according to his deserts—that the author of "The Forum" is entitled to fill a much larger space in the public eye, than the great, venerable and distinguished Justice; but Mr. Brown will scarcely get the reading public, either professional or non-professional, to agree with him. To prevent mistake here, let us say that the memoir of Mr. Brown prefixed to his work was not written by his own hand. It seems to have been prepared originally by a friend of the author, for a place among the catalogue of the distinguished living, published by Mr John Livingston in his "Biographies." The writer, however, had peculiar advantages for the work. He quotes the private journal of Mr. Brown, and gives us an account of his first public effort. From this it appears that Mr. Brown's debut in the courts of Pennsylvania equalled, if it did not excel, the highest efforts of Grecian or Roman oratory, and instantly placed the orator upon the pinnacle of fame. The biographer does not tell us, that like Erskine on the occasion of his famous first speech before Lord Mansfield, the Philadelphia orator received thirty retainers before he left the court room. He doubtless deserved them.

Having said thus much in censure of these volumes, we must say what it is in our heart to say in commendation of the writer and his work. He seems to be a good natured, cheerful old gentleman, liberal to a fault, and a sincere teacher of the lesson of good fellowship. He has placed a high, but not too high, estimate upon the practical value of strict professional decorum; and inculcates as one of the essentials to success as well as to comfort in the practice of the law, the cultivation of an equable temper, and seasonably and shrewdly remarks, that "no client would be safe in trusting the management of his cause to a

lawyer who is incapable of self-government." He also calls attention to another feature in legal life, which may strike with some surprise those who are not familiar with its inner departments: "The result of professional harmony is the greatest mutual confidence. They rely upon each other's word as an infalible bond. As between themselves, they rarely require any writing as assurance. They neither doubt nor are doubted. This, among the other lofty principles of the profession, has secured them here and everywhere a position which neither envy nor calumny can ever destroy or impair."

The legal profession has been the subject of calumny. No one will doubt this who has taken the pains to acquaint himself with the ordinary opinions cherished and expressed by some even of the more intelligent classes who have devoted themselves to other pursuits. As the result of calumnies widely and industriously diffused by those who believe them to be true, we think we do not err in saying, that a large proportion of thinking men, outside the profession, regard the vigorous, faithful and earnest prosecution of the law as incompatible with the highest standard of morality; as inconsonant with a sincere attachment for the principles of the Christian religion.

It is our design, in the present article, to vindicate the profession from these charges, and to show that the prosecution of the law is not only consistent with the sincere profession and practice of Christianity, but that, in some particulars, the lawyer enjoys peculiar advantages for attaining eminent usefulness in the Christian life.

It is scarcely necessary to say that if the law may be practiced at all, its practitioner is called upon to discharge its duties with vigor and fidelity. It argues neither a Christian heart nor a Christian head to falter in the prose-

cution of any work we may properly undertake. Energy and striving for success are as obligatory upon the Christian in the pursuit of lawful secular callings, as diligence and fidelity in the discharge of any peculiarly Christian duty. If, then, the Christian may be a lawyer, he should prosecute his profession vigorously and earnestly; he should not hesitate to meet its full responsibilities, and to discharge them all; and if the life of the Christian be incompatible with the energetic discharge of the lawyer's office, duty to the client, duty to himself demands that the Christian lawyer should lay aside his professional robes, and devote himself to some other pursuit. This is the practical question to which we invite attention; may the Christian practice the law without soiling his character, or impairing his Christian influence?

There is nothing essentially variant between the profession of Christianity and the practice of the law. To embrace the principles of the one does not, in itself, imply the denial of the principles which should rule in the other. So far as human laws are written on the statute books of the country, or have been unfolded and expounded in the decisions of the courts, the principles which underlie and regulate them are found to be, are designed to be modelled after and built upon the principles of Divine truth. If there be occasional aberrations from the standard, these have occurred, not from intentional disregard of the claims of the "higher law," but from misinterpretation or misapplication of the test; and as fallible men have had to expound and interpret the statutes and to apply in practice these principles, it is surely not without excuse that occasional departures from their true development have been made—occasional errors committed.

There is not only no essential variance between the prin-

ciples of Christianity and the principles which should rule in the practice of the law; there are designed coincidence and harmony between them.

In civilized countries the great code regulating the dealings of man with man is the code contained in the Holy Scriptures. Variously expressed as their statutes have been,—assuming with every different nation and people a distinct and separate form, varying according to the mental habits, and circumstances of the people for whose control they are designed,—they all acknowledge, and are all designed to inculcate, obedience to the Divine law, as promulgated from Mount Sinai, and as interpreted by the *Infallible Interpreter*. Let a man but obey this law, in its spirit and letter; and he need not fear breaking any of the positive statutes, or running counter to the written decisions of the courts of a civilized people. Legislatures and courts alike have bowed in homage to the Divine model; and have striven to make their enactments and their rulings conform to its high standard. The Common Law of England, though its foundations were laid in a dark and inauspicious age, has become the boast of lawyers and statesmen, and the pride and glory of the Anglo-Saxon race, its highest and happiest accomplishment, in a history crowded with wonderful successes, and almost unexampled fortunes. No wonder that it was cherished with affectionate remembrance by our fathers; and though they were compelled to sever the national bond of union between them and the mother country, no wonder they fondly clung to this, the earliest and the best boon they had inherited. Yet after all, what is this Common Law, which law writers proudly characterize as the highest reason? Whence has it derived its splendor, its justness of proportion, its solidity of principle, and its

were a sufficient warrant, if one were needed, for the urgent manner in which I press this subject on the student's attention."

Similar recommendations of the study of the Holy Scriptures are given in every respectable treatise on the study of the law. The uniformity and urgency of these commendations at least show that legal writers have never discovered in the sacred writings anything to discourage, or embarrass, or hinder the young legal student in the pursuit of his profession; on the contrary, they show that lawyers of eminent learning and experience believe that the practitioner will be better equipped for the successful discharge of his duties as a lawyer, if he has stored his mind in youth with the truths of the Divine Word, mastered its teachings, and familiarized himself with its principles. Nor will it be objected, we are sure, that these writers are wanting in perspicacity. In claiming for the legal profession the power to understand their true interests, we are but claiming what every one will, without argument, acknowledge.

There is, moreover, no external circumstance attending the study of the law, in itself considered, preventing the prosecution of Biblical and religious truth.

The professional student may be helped in his legal studies by the prosecution of religious studies; he will hardly be hindered by them. A too great devotion to strictly professional treatises has in some instances, doubtless, contributed to divert the attention of the legal scholar from the claims of the Holy Scriptures; but this may be objected as well to every other engrossing science; whether geology, astronomy, chemistry or botany, or leaving the departments of natural science, whether one's studies incline to metaphysics, strictly so-called, or to the *belles*

lettres. Many of these, we know, have sometimes fully occupied the time and attention of those whose chief business it should have been to study and to preach the Gospel. If we would then discountenance the study of the law, because in some instances its prosecution has hindered growth in spiritual knowledge, consistency requires that we should discourage the prosecution of the sciences and arts, and indeed every occupation or study of life not strictly and technically religious. The critical objector to the practice of the law would hardly insist on carrying out his principles to consistent conclusions, if he should thereby peril or destroy his own pursuit. He would find the claims of Divine philosophy not altogether so exacting and so exclusive as he had been accustomed to believe. To nourish and sustain the "little ones at home" he would speedily know to be of as lasting obligation, and, perhaps, of as high character, as the most intimate acquaintance with the Divine teaching.

So far, also, as the study of the law is a mental exercise, calling for the use of the highest powers of the mind, for severe analysis, for the accurate investigation and elimination of principles, and their practical application to human relations and duties, so far will it prove of advantage in enabling one to know religious truth, and to understand how to apply it. No one will question that the lawyer is advantaged in a mental and moral point of view by his frequent application of moral principles to human conduct. This is an important item, and ought not to be neglected in making our estimate of the peculiar facilities of the bar. We call attention to the fact here, simply to show the superior vantage ground of the lawyer as a hearer of religious truth.

Every minister of the Gospel has experienced a difficulty

in securing attention to the doctrines he proclaims. The people lack consideration. It is very hard work to think; —to think on new topics when totally new, to continue to think on old topics, when very old. We would account it strange, were we not so familiar with the fact, that the minister encounters both these difficulties in nearly every congregation he addresses. Some of his auditors have never seriously thought upon the topic he discusses; to them his teachings are misty and confused, and the impressions received dim and imperfect. Others have thought upon the truths so often, have heard them handled and applied so often, that they have become old and trite. The lawyer —the true lawyer will not generally be found in either class. He has learned by continual and repeated practice, to grasp a novel subject in all its relations, and he follows with delight the preacher into new fields of thought: and is gratified by the amplest range and largest discourse. He will know too how to value the old; and will not unfrequently, while a hearer, contribute from his own stores of thought, or by some practical and recent experience in illustration of its truth, invest the teachings of the pulpit with freshness and power. When attendants on the ministry, we may claim for the bar that they are attentive and appreciative hearers.

While what we have stated is conceded to be true; and the probability of Christian sentiment at the bar, if there were no hindrances in the way, is also conceded; it is objected that the facts tell on the contrary side of the question; that legal men are not often professedly religious; that the large majority of them acknowledge no allegiance to Divine truth, neither obey it themselves nor encourage its obedience in others; that among them infidelity numbers its advocates, and that a practical and a theoretic dis-

regard of the claims of Christianity is the rule, and not the exception; and indeed, it is further objected that this disregard of Christian obligation is not a mere accident of the profession, but one of its essentials, the due discharge of legal duties requiring a sacrifice of Christian principle. If the latter branch of this charge be true, attempts to defend the practice of the law would be vain, and the necessary and consistent conclusion would be that pure morals and a regard to the public welfare would demand the suppression of the legal profession. Is it true?

In proof of its truth, the objector cites the familiar example of an advocate's defence of a criminal known to be guilty. He says that such a defence is always immoral and utterly incompatible with Christian character.

We shall test the soundness of this declaration: but before passing condemnation upon the bar, let us see what are their teachings upon the point. To begin with the work of Mr. Brown:

"The best system of forensic ethics or moral philosophy, as applied to the legal duties of men, is of Divine authority; 'Do unto others as you would be done by;' that is, as you justly deserve to be done by; 'Love your neighbors (or your clients) as yourself;' which means, do the same justice to them that in their condition you would be rightly entitled to expect—you are not to do more for them than you would rightly expect; nor to love them better than yourself—not to sacrifice your conscience or your heavenly hope to them."

Again:

"We repeat it, a lawyer is bound to refuse a case that he believes to be dishonest, or to retire from it the moment he discovers it to be so. And he is also bound to avoid litigation, unless it is necessary and when unneces-

sary or unavoidable, always to adopt the least offensive means for bringing it to a satisfactory result. The law is the handmaid of justice, and in its administration should never be attended with undue severity or malevolence."

Again:

"A lawyer has a right to take all the advantage his learning and talents afford him, in order to sustain a good cause or defeat a corrupt one: but he has no right to substitute his talents or learning for the honesty of a case, and thereby render iniquity triumphant. When he has doubts as to the correctness of his position, he may fairly incline in favor of the party he represents, and sustain his views by every authority and fact that the law or evidence may supply, leaving it of course to the court and jury to ratify or reject them. He is not to decide the case, nor is he morally answerable for the correctness of its decision; but he *is* answerable for the correctness of the motives by which he is influenced."

Judge Sharswood's testimony is to the like effect, and, indeed, every legal writer of eminence and learning has taught the same doctrines.

In making these citations from legal authorities on the ethics of the bar, we shall not be accused of introducing testimony which ought not to be regarded. Had these works been written as defences of the bar, we might suspect the sincerity of the testimony; but they were written for no such purpose; they were designed for those who had already determined upon, or were actively engaged in the pursuit of the profession; and they show the *animus* of the profession in its claims to sincerity and just dealing, as much as the ordinary conversation and tone of remark of a private individual would disclose more aptly than in any other way, his personal character.

But while legal writers teach thus decidedly and emphatically the duty of the lawyer, not willingly to undertake the espousal of an unjust cause—one that he knows to be unjust, and with the view to forward or protect injustice—much diversity of opinion exists among them, as to the obligation a lawyer is under to a client whose cause he may lawfully espouse. Some, but very few, maintain with Lord Brougham in his famous defence of queen Caroline, that "an advocate, by the sacred duty he owes his client, knows, in the discharge of that office, but one person in the world—his client and none others,"—that "to save his client by all expedient means; to protect that client at all hazards and costs to all others, and amongst others to himself, is the highest and most unquestionable of his duties;" and that "he must not regard the alarm, the suffering, the torment, the destruction which he may bring upon any other." We know of none, however, who would adopt the further sentiment of this distinguished lord, when he adds, that "separating even the duties of a patriot from those of an advocate, and casting them, if need be, to the winds, the advocate must go on reckless of the consequences, if his fate it should unhappily be, to involve his country in confusion for his client's protection." Others, however, and the larger and more considerate part, adopt the sentiments of Hale: "I never thought," says that distinguished jurist and Christian, "I never thought that my profession should either necessitate a man to use his eloquence, by extenuations or aggravations, to make anything look worse or better than it deserves, or could justify a man in it; to prostitute my eloquence or rhetoric in such a way, I ever held to be most basely mercenary, and that it was below the worth of a man, much more a Christian to do so."

We can not suppose that Lord Brougham's remarks expressed the deliberate results of his ripe judgment. They were uttered in the progress of a trial of unusual interest and importance; one which might have hurried a speaker of even cooler and more dispassionate consideration than himself into extravagance of statement. If such sentiments were generally adopted, no one can doubt that justice would be corrupted at its sources, and then, indeed, would he be a bold advocate who should undertake the defence of the bar and endeavor to commend the practice of the law as a high and honorable and Christian calling. While duty demands the exercise of the best gifts with which the advocate is endowed by his Maker, and their exercise to the utmost extent, it has never required—it never will require, that he should plead the cause of injustice, or espouse the defence of iniquity. Strictly consonant is this remark with the further one, that even the guilty man should be defended. Guilty as he is, the law annexes to his guilt but a certain penalty; and the infliction of a penalty variant from that either in character or degree, would be a clear violation of justice, and of the plainest dictates of right. He needs, then, an adviser and defender to protect him from the unjust infliction of a severer penalty than he deserves; and the Christian lawyer may rightly assume his defence for that purpose. It is equally true that even guilt had better go unpunished, than that the solemn sanctions and safeguards the law has thrown around the lives and liberties of people should be violated. And so, when in order to execute speedily upon the culprit the extreme penalties of the law, lynch-law is restored to, every just-minded and reasonable and law-loving citizen exclaims against the outrage—even though the object of

it be notoriously guilty of crimes of deepest malignity. If in popular outbreaks thus characterized, the guilty are punished without the law and against the law, and the punishment is thus decried as unjust and iniquitous, it is true, also, that when any of the barriers erected for the protection of life and liberty are disregarded by a yielding or timid judiciary, or removed by a truculent and trimming bar, and even the guilty are punished, a wrong is done—an injury is inflicted which the culprit may not only complain of, but the body of the people as well. The honour of the State, the vindication of justice, and the lives and liberties of the citizens are as much concerned in the proper defence of the accused culprit at the bar, as in his due prosecution and conviction by legal means, by the prosecuting attorney; and a high philosophy and a profound knowledge of the question in its diversified relations, would teach us that we are as much interested in the one as in the other. Take, for example, the case of a man indicted for murder. He has been guilty of an atrocious crime. He deserves to suffer the extreme penalty of the law; but he must suffer it in a legal way. He is a freeman, entitled under the laws to be tried by a jury of his peers —his equals. Did a jury of slaves sit upon his trial, a verdict of guilty might be returned against him, or without a verdict, the judge might pronounce the sentence of execution, but in neither case ought the law or justice to sanction it. He is entitled to be confronted with his accusers. A conviction obtained by testimony secured privately, apart from his presence, and without offering him an opportunity to test the accuracy of memory, or the veracity of the witness, would be unjust, and such a conviction ought not to stand. He is entitled to have his triers sworn or solemnly affirmed, before passing upon the question of

his life or death. If they are not, and they convict, the conviction is, it ought to be naught. He is entitled to a speedy trial, while the recollection of witnesses is fresh, and the circumstances attending the fact, preceding or following it, may be accurately detailed—while his own witnesses are living and may be had. If his trial be unreasonably delayed, and the facts have faded from the memory, and witnesses have died or removed to distant places, beyond the reach of the court, and he is convicted because of their absence or death, the conviction is unjust, and should be annulled. Last of all, he is entitled to an acquittal *until he is proved to be guilty*, and if the proof fails, and the judge, pressed by outside popular sentiment, or thirsting for blood, or influenced by the moral conviction of guilt upon his own mind, either by actions or by words, either in admitting improper testimony or rejecting that which is proper, influences the mind of the jury wrong, and they convict, and the man is hung—the culprit is judicially murdered!—he has suffered a penalty the law did not demand, and his execution should be regarded with no higher favour than if, immediately upon the commission of the crime, a fierce and angry populace had hurried him to the gallows without the mockery of an unjust trial. In all these steps, the man needs assistance. To protect him in his rights he should have the counsel and aid of those who know his rights, and who will maintain them. Who shall say that the Christian lawyer, in such a case, owes it not to himself and to the ordinary law of humanity, to the cardinal rule of love to his neighbour, laid down specifically by the Saviour, to undertake the cause of the culprit, and to guard for him his rights? Rights he has; the law has guaranteed them to him; the culprit is wronged, he is unjustly dealt with, if they be taken away.

This is an extreme case, and one usually put to the lawyer as a test of conscience. We have seen that to espouse even such a cause is not beyond excuse; that in fact it is right. We confess that we cannot see that a judicial trial and conviction by any unfair or unlawful means, and subsequent punishment, differ from an execution by lynch-law; or if there be differences, that they are not in favour of lynch-law, for while the process of lynching must, from the necessity of the case, be notorious, and of infrequent and extraordinary occurrence, judicial murderings without law or evidence, might be perpetrated in secret and without responsibility! If prisoners are protected by appropriate counsel, such cases will infrequently occur: if they are wholly undefended, their numbers would be greatly enlarged.

Mr. Brown mentions a remarkable case in which an innocent man narrowly escaped final conviction, though without the leanings of the court against him, and though defended by counsel. The case was this: "Van Vliet, the defendant, was prosecuted for having stolen three thousand dollars in foreign gold, (sovereigns.) The prosecutrix swore that she had that amount of money which she had been collecting for a long time: that the prisoner upon one occasion introduced himself into her house, under pretence of desiring to buy old watches or jewelry; that at the time he entered, she was engaged in counting her gold; but put it in her bureau for the purpose of bringing down an old watch; that when she came down, after a few minutes conversation the prisoner left the house, and upon her then going to the drawer, the gold was gone. She swore, also, to the identity of the prisoner, who was a Frenchman, and speaking very broken English, and somewhat deformed in person.

The next witness was a confederate, who testified that he knew the defendant, and had lived with him about two weeks; that on the day of the alleged loss of money, the defendant came home and had with him a large quantity of gold, of the description sworn to; that they counted it together, and that the number of sovereigns exactly corresponded with the amount lost; that the day after, these sovereigns were melted down by the mint, and that the product in new American coinage, was handed over to the defendant. The officer of the mint proved the melting, and the payment to the defendant. The new coin was all found on the person of the defendant.

Now, upon this testimony what could be plainer than the guilt of the defendant?

The defendant was a stranger—he denied his guilt; nobody knew him. He averred he had brought the money from Liverpool—produced some little evidence that he had such money on his arrival. But this would not do; he was convicted, and the money was about passing into the hands of the prosecutrix.

Newly discovered testimony was the ground of motion for a new trial. The new trial was granted, and by consent of the Attorney-General, a commission issued to England.

Upon the second trial, it appeared that the prosecutrix had no such money.

That the defendant had received English sovereigns for French gold, in Liverpool. That he had employed the confederate to interpret for him for two weeks, and had counted the money with him, and then carried it to the mint, and obtained in lieu American gold. That having dismissed his interpreter, that person concocted the above scheme, with the prosecutrix, for the purpose of gratify-

ing his revenge, obtaining the money, and dividing the spoils.

He was, of course, acquitted."

Had not this man been assisted by counsel, he would doubtless have been condemned and punished as a felon.

Having disproved the charge of immorality, when alleged as an universal fact in relation to the defence of a known criminal, we are now ready to examine into that branch of the objection urged against the bar, which charges them with the neglect of Christianity. It is too true that as a class legal men are not peculiarly distinguished for Christian character. While not falling behind others in contributing its quota of excellent Christian men, the legal profession has not, in proportion to its superior advantages, multiplied the numbers of sincere and devoted Christians. The fact is, there are hindrances not a few to Christian devotion among barristers. The prevailing tone of sentiment of leading men in the profession seems to discourage a high degree of spirituality, and, indeed, all spirituality whatever. In some circles, and those too claiming respectability and influence, the name of Christian is flouted, or spoken of in light and irreverential terms. Unfortunately, it is too true that there are very many at the bar who willingly unite in unjust and harsh criticisms of barristers who profess Christianity. This is practical skepticism. Besides, skepticism and infidelity in theory, are openly avowed and defended. There are not a few who are led into these delusions by a desire for the reputation of superior sagacity; and others have learned to repeat by rote the ordinary objections to the Christian religion, and to dwell with apparent satisfaction upon the errors and inconsistencies of professors of Christianity. All this is beyond question true; and the Christian barrister is often

tempted to believe he encounters more discouragements in his Christian life than he would do, were he engaged in any other pursuit.

Many of the bar do, as we have said, pay an outward and decent respect to the observances of the house of worship. Many, however, on the other hand, regard public worship as but a veil to conceal hypocrisy, and cover over deformities of heart and life. It is here, perhaps, that the barrister is more peculiarly exposed than in other professions. He has in active practice such frequent occasions of detecting the covert motives of men. Daily, almost hourly, disclosures of insincerity and double-dealing are made known to him; in some instances affecting those who hold high positions in the community, men whose honesty and integrity are unquestioned; in other instances, attacking the fair name of Christian professors. These are but too well calculated to make the lawyer a skeptic in the matter of sincerity and to cause him to doubt whether the observances of the Christian temple, and the seeming worship of an Infinite God are not mere cloaks to conceal lives of impurity and dishonesty. If lawyers doubt more the sincerity of Christian worship, it is attributable to the fact that they see more in daily life to shake their confidence in the integrity of their fellows. Sadly true is it that each of them has a tale to unfold—a chapter of experiences to disclose, which would make many a professing Christian blench before his fellows, and drive from the communion table many who with sanctimonious air and solemn countenance, now outwardly partake of the sacred elements, without having inwardly experienced the grace of which they are at once the type and the encouragement. It is, too, a matter of sufficient importance to note that the lawyer, more perhaps than one engaged

in any other calling—certainly more than any class whose life is not so exclusively devoted to subjects of thought—discovers in a nasal tone and canting phrase neither eloquence nor sanctity; but is sometimes deterred from the regular attendance upon a ministry whose chief recommendation consists in these very questionable attainments. John Foster has shown, however, that this aversion is not exclusively confined to members of the bar; that intelligent men of all classes are sometimes driven from a decent respect for the worship of Jehovah because of the ignorance of His worshippers. True, intelligent men are guilty of ill logic in this. They should reason that the adoration of an Infinite God ought not to depend upon the feeble and imperfect devotions of men confessedly ignorant; but after all that is said, that can be said upon the point, even the most thoughtful are swayed more by these external exhibitions of Christianity than by any amount of abstract truth. Let us point such, however, to the career of one who began as a contemner of Jesus and persecutor of the saints, who subsequently became a zealous defender of the Gospel, and who with a force of logic almost unparalleled, and eloquence at once simple and impressive, reasoned with the men of Athens, caused guilty Felix to tremble upon his throne, and compelled from Agrippa the surprising confession, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian;" a man of faith and power, of energy of character, and sincerity of purpose; with whom the life of the Christian was a reality,—to the apostle of the Gentiles. Or, if a higher example be needed, let us point them for imitation to the perfect life of Jesus, the son of Mary, as the model, and challenge at once their respect and their love for his faultless character.

Why, in the nature of things, we again ask, may not

the lawyer be the sincere and devout Christian? We have already shown that there is nothing essentially variant between the profession of Christianity and the practice of the law; that so far from there being such variance, there is a designed coincidence and harmony between them; that the study of the sacred Scriptures is enjoined upon the young professional student as a fit preparation for the solemn and responsible duties of the bar; and that while, on the one hand, there is no external circumstance attending the study of the law, in itself considered, preventing the prosecution of biblical and religious truth, on the other, the mere study and practice of the law as a mental exercise, calling for the use of the highest powers of the mind in severe analysis, in the investigation and elimination of principles, and in their practical application to human relations, will help and not hinder the student of the law in his study of the truths contained in the Word of God, and cause him to be more profited by the teachings of the Gospel minister, following him with delight into new realms of thought, and investing by his daily experience even trite themes with freshness and force. We have also shown, that while Infidelity has reared its head among barristers, it has done the same no less boldly in other pursuits in life; and that there is nothing in the daily exercise of the profession, even in the defence of criminals justly found guilty, to cause the Christian lawyer to swerve from the pursuit of right; why then, we ask, may not the lawyer be sincere and devout as a Christian? Do hindrances beset him?—the like encompass the goings of every man. Do peculiar temptations try him?—peculiar powers and gifts to resist them are his. Does the prevailing tone of a bar, half-enlightened and with no Christian sentiment to curb them, in any wise hinder his advancement in the

Christian life?—he would find the same in all departments of business, in every employment. We see then nothing to deter the Christian from the proper pursuit of the profession, and nothing to keep the lawyer from being a Christian in devotion and life. But we must not content ourself with this merely negative argument in behalf of Christianity. Independently of considerations which might be profitably addressed to the bar, in common with other classes, Christianity has its peculiar and positive claims upon the barrister, of manifold and urgent character, and demanding his earnest attention.

The lawyer is a minister of justice. His practical dealings with men and with human motives are mainly designed to further this end. In the prosecution, as in the defence of causes, this is, it ought to be his chief, and only purpose. And in furthering justice, he not only regulates the motives and actions of men by human law, but applies as well the sanctions of the divine law. He finds, as we have already said, the most powerful motives furnished by these sanctions.

Will he wisely apply to the conduct of others a test which his own will not stand? Will he willingly measure the motives of parties, and the responsibility and credibility of witnesses by their regard to moral duty, while he himself disregards it? Will he utter as decisively true, and as not admitting of contradiction or doubt, that the Infidel is unworthy of credit; and shall he be an Infidel? Aye more, will he vindicate the claims of human justice, and demand the enforcement of its penalties, while he disregards and disavows the claims of Divine justice? True, we have seen such anomalies; but are such persons consistent? Do they act wisely or well? Will they—can they plead in extenuation of their conduct any plea which

would be received by the candid and intelligent? We ask, in all sincerity, what right have such men to prefer for themselves the claim of wisdom and right-thinking? Ought they not to be covered with confusion, when these glaring inconsistencies of conduct are brought to view?

As a teacher of moral truth, then,—an expounder of the laws (which are but moral truths condensed) in their applications to the varying circumstances of life, we call upon the lawyer to be a Christian. We will not say he may not properly discharge some of the offices of a lawyer without being a Christian; we will say he cannot properly discharge all of them without it. Weight of character necessary for making due impression upon the minds of men, for influencing aright courts as well as juries, in some measure may be secured outside of the Christian Church; but it will not be denied that the mere worldly-minded barrister, the frequenter of feasts and revelry, the champion of gambling-clubs and race-courses, is less likely to secure confidence, and command respect in his vocation than the Christian. One not in the habit of attending courts might be surprised at the potency of moral character—might stagger at the assertion that as much depends upon the confidence of a judge or jury in the truthfulness of the advocate, as upon the merits of his cause. To secure our rights, to vindicate justice, it is not unfrequently of paramount necessity that we should have one espouse our defence who can secure confidence not only in his ability, but also in his integrity; and who so likely to command respect and to ensure success, as the Christian lawyer who, by a life of devotedness to the right, has won for himself the confidence of the community? If then, as is undoubtedly true, weight of character is an essential ingredient in the successful prosecution of the profession,

and if to enforce one's views of truth and to vindicate justice, he ought in his own life to exemplify its excellence, may not the lawyer earnestly covet, even for success in his profession, the special gifts of the Christian?

Again: the study and practice of the law, when associated with sincere Christian principle, afford opportunities of almost unparalleled usefulness.

Second only, if second at all, is the vantage ground of the advocate to that of the minister of the Gospel. The intimate relations subsisting between pastor and people are copies of those subsisting between the counsel and his client. In some respects, the latter are more closely intimate and blended. A pastor experiences no little difficulty in *getting at* his people; there seems to be a something (he cannot tell what) which hinders his full access to their hearts, and the pious minister is stripped of the opportunity to do much good which he would do if he knew how to make his people unbosom themselves to him. Very little of this embarrassment attends the conferences between the lawyer and his client. The merely perfunctory in his legal character is lost sight of by the applicant for legal aid, in his anxiety to secure assistance; and all embarrassment is taken away. The man shows more of his heart to the lawyer than he would dare to do to his preacher. He unfolds with specific minuteness, and in detail, his condition in life, it may be, or some sad chapter in his experience, needing a skilful and a faithful hand to bind up the wounds. He knows—that is, he sometimes knows that to protect his interests, he must be honest; and he tells the whole, as well the questionable and doubtful as that above suspicion and beyond doubt. How ample then the opportunity to direct to the right—by a suggestion of the proper course of conduct to incline to it—by a word

of counsel wisely given to save one from ruin or from shame. These are not merely imaginary cases. The history of every sincere, conscientious, Christian lawyer, in full practice, would disclose not a few such examples. We know that this is not the feature of the legal character usually presented to the public; but it is nevertheless true, and faithfully drawn; and in nothing have even wise and good men more erred, than in the harsh judgments they have rashly and indiscriminately pronounced against the bar. Let the truth be told. Professional gentlemen will be the last to deny that there are tricksters and fraudulent pettifoggers, who are with them but not of them, who would not hesitate to do a dishonest or scurvy thing, and whose opportunities for villainy being so great, have accomplished an untold amount of evil; and by how much on the one hand these are enabled to do more harm in the superior advantages afforded them, by so much on the other are the upright enabled, prompted by proper motives, to promote the good. In the single example of peace-making—the quieting of family disturbances, where else there had been feuds perhaps bitter and unrelenting, what has not been—what may not be accomplished by Christian lawyers? Who can not call to mind one such instance, in which such an one has interposed, and poured oil over the troubled waters, and caused a great calm?

Again: the lawyer's peculiar talents fit him for usefulness in the Christian Church. For the main advancement of the cause of Christianity in the earth, for its full progression and final success, there are many whose influence is comparatively inefficient. Their introduction into the Church is a blessing to themselves, and may, in some instances, lead to the blessing of others; but their lives are passed in obscurity, their talents are not commanding,

their influence is contracted. Not so with the Christian lawyer. If he has wisely selected his profession; if he has not been thrust into it by injudicious and imprudent considerations; if he is adapted by natural gifts and ample studies for its successful prosecution, his introduction into the Christian Church will be a matter not merely of personal concern and importance to himself, but will prove to be of essential advantage to the body of which he becomes a member. His talents will fit him for the discharge of many of the offices, not strictly clerical; and by his conversation and example he will win many more of like capacity with himself to the service of Christ. A body of such men, animated by a sincerely humble and devoted spirit, would wage no light warfare with the hosts of sin; and even when segregated and separated from each other, their information, their talents and their capacities would greatly promote the cause of Christianity. We have sometimes looked with no little admiration at a bar consisting of many of the wise, the eloquent, the talented and the energetic, in an inland city, and pictured in our imagination the good these might accomplish, the harvest of true fame they might reap, if they were all sincerely pious. Alas! how few have been proud to call themselves Christians—how many of the few have been self-deceived; or have perhaps wittingly and willingly worn the Christian profession for the purpose of deceiving others. It is proper, also, to remark that the ministry looks for some of its recruits from the bar. We are not of those who imagine it to be the duty of every Christian lawyer to undertake the office of preaching the Gospel. True; the gifts and the acquirements which fit him for the successful prosecution of his profession, will most probably adapt him to the pulpit. But this is not universally true; and if it were

so, yet other traits of character and capacities than the gift of merely speaking from the pulpit are demanded in the Gospel preacher and pastor; and the lawyer may be a Christian without having these. Besides, the vocation of the law demands as high Christian principle, and the exercise of the purest Christian character; and for the sake of the rest, it would be unwise and imprudent to withdraw from the bar the entire Christian element. Some professing Christianity ought to remain, that the influence of their example upon those in the same calling may be the more felt; as well as for the sake of those who shall come after—the young men in the profession, whose example and character are to be determined largely by the prevailing tone of character among their elder professional brethren. Yet, the pulpit looks to the bar for recruits; and many of the most distinguished and useful pulpit orators have risen from that profession. Why may there not be among the twenty thousand practitioners of the law in the Union, one-twentieth of them, or even a larger proportion, who shall devote their time, their talents and their fortunes exclusively to the service of Christ, in the proclamation of the Gospel?

But this is not all, nor indeed the chief service which Christianity demands of the legal profession. She wishes to fill up her ranks of laymen with intelligent, thinking, laborious men; she wishes counsellors in the churches, in the prayer-meetings, in her more public congregations. She wishes to point to "honorable counsellors," not a few; her adherents and supporters, in the courts and in the offices; men of uprightness and integrity; men of moral weight and justness of views; men of thought and men of purpose. She wishes that examples of holy living may be given; and that the ministers of justice, strictly so called,

may become themselves the lovers of just dealing and just doing. She wishes that in every vocation of life, in every employment and pursuit, her votaries may be found; and especially desires that the guardians of the law, the defenders of human rights and the avengers of human wrong, shall be controlled and swayed by her sweet and chastening influences—shall illustrate in their lives and example, and teach by their language, that there is a law higher than human authority, of sacred and universal obligation, and that they honor themselves and honor humanity by bowing to its commands.

It will appear from what we have said, that we desire that barristers should do something more than make a merely external profession of religion. We would have the Christian barrister and counsellor exemplify, in his life and by his words, the truth and the power of Christianity. His inner life would then disclose a high state of spiritual earnestness and sincerity. While engaged in the active pursuit of his profession, in vindicating by his eloquence and wisdom the right, and holding up to just censure the wrong, he would find it not impossible to cherish a sacred nearness to Jehovah, and to preserve that intimate communion with Christ which are the distinguishing marks of the active Christian. Such a lawyer might write upon his law-books and legal opinions—upon his legal conduct and legal life, HOLINESS UNTO THE LORD; and in every act and word, in every public effort at the bar, in every opinion given at chambers, in dissuasion from strife, in exhortation to justice and charity, would utter in no uncertain language, the sentiments, and exhibit the life of the Christian. Some Christian lawyer once said—"that he never undertook a cause for the success of which he could not pray, and he had never lost a cause for which

he had prayed." Could the principle underlying this action be carried into universal practice, there would be no need for defences of the bar; the life of the Christian barrister would be its best exposition and ablest defence; and the slanders so often recklessly and wantonly uttered against this honorable and useful calling would rebound to the damage of the assailant.

DR. SMITH'S PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE OF SLAVERY.*

It has been a matter of common notoriety, for several years past, that the distinguished author of this work had prepared a series of lectures on the subject of American Slavery, and it was confidently expected that, at an opportune moment, he would commit them to the press. We do not regret that Dr. Smith has chosen the present as the fit season for publication. The public mind is now aroused, as it has never before been, to the importance of a thorough discussion of the subject; and we welcome, on the part of the South and her people, this latest able defence of her "peculiar institution."

A question of grave significance meets us at the very threshold of the discussion. What is slavery? Much confusion of thought, arising from the improper and indiscriminate use of this term, has prevailed. If there be no certain ascertainment of the meaning, we are beating the air instead of contesting about substantials. What is the essential idea of slavery? What are its necessary elements?

* *Lectures on the Philosophy and Practice of Slavery, as exhibited in the Institution of Domestic Slavery in the United States; with the Duties of Masters to Slaves.* By WILLIAM A. SMITH, D. D., President of Randolph Macon College, and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. Edited by Thomas O. Summers, D. D., Nashville, Tenn. Stevenson & Evans. 1856.

Does it mean that the subject of the institution is invested with no other rights than a brute? Does it mean that the slave is the master's *chattel*, in the largest and most offensive signification of the term? May the master, without violating the laws of humanity, beat and bruise, scourge and maim the person of his slave, or convert him into an instrument of wontonness or revenge? Has he the irresponsible power of life and death? May he, at mere caprice, fetter the body of his servant, and worse still, fetter and bind his soul? There is a system of slavery of this character we admit. In some cases, slavery has nearly fulfilled to the letter the items we have named; but these are not the generic ideas of the institution. They may not be truthfully affirmed of it *semper et ubique*. They ought not to be applied to the system of American slavery, to the Domestic slavery prevailing in the Southern states of this union. We might accept as aptly describing the slavery found in these states, the definition of our author—"the abstract principle of slavery is the general principle of submission or subjection to control by the will of another."

Upon the first propounding of this answer to the question, we are free to admit that the terms of the reply fall short of a full exposition of the idea of slavery, as generally entertained. That idea has almost invariably embraced the element of *force* and that too of brute force. In this form, it has been incorporated into our speech; in this form, it has tinged our conversational and written discourse, and has so moulded and influenced our thought, that tyranny in the political world, and slavery in the social, have become convertible terms, denoting the utmost of oppression and severity on the one hand, and the utmost of servility and abjectness on the other. This is the idea of

slavery that has originated the scoffs of "holding human beings as property" and "converting them into brutes" which have, for so long a period, formed the staple of argument and of sentiment, infecting every department of our literature. The idea is essentially false. The freaks of fancy or of feeling it may have originated and produced are *fallacious* and *unnecessary*. When we assert that it is right to hold man in bondage, we do not mean to assert that it is right to convert him into a brute or a thing; but simply to say that the relation of master and slave may exist in harmony with a regard to moral obligations; and that in such case the master has the right to demand the services of the slave, and it is the duty of the slave to render them cheerfully, heartily and obediently. In other words, for we find the definition of the author we have quoted as apposite as necessary, *the abstract principle of slavery is the general principle of submission or subjection to control by the will of another.*

But we are here met by the objection—"All then are slaves. Every one owes subjection or submission, in some form, to the will of another; the wife to her husband; the ward to his gua dian; the apprentice to his master; the child to his parent; and the husband and guardian, master and parent, owe subjection and subm ssion to the civil authorities. Do all, then, stand on the same footing? Are we all *slaves?*" The question is put ingeniously and is designed to cover with unjust odium the man who asserts it. If we answer by a simple affimative, then a general sentiment denying its truth will be appealed to in condemnation of the answer. If by a simple negative, then the definition of slavery above given would be discarded: for it is apparent that if the abstract principle of slavery be subjection or submission to the will of another, then the

wife is the slave of her husband, &c. We answer affirmatively that the essential idea of subjection or submission is involved in them all; but we must accompany the answer by the further remark, that while all these relations of husband and wife, master and apprentice, &c., involve the subjection of one to the will of the other, they do not involve the further ideas which domestic slavery, as used with us, invariably embraces—that the subject of the institution and his or her posterity may be transferred to another master who shall stand in the same relation to the slave the former master held and occupied. And if there be any thing of degradation or immorality in the relation, it arises from this right of transfer.

Add to the definition of the author we have cited, this further thought. It would read thus:

"The principle of slavery is the general principle of subjection or submission to control by the will of another; but in domestic slavery, as distinguished from the relations of wife and husband, ward and guardian, apprentice and master, and child and parent, the further idea is involved that the master has the right to sell his s ave and his posterity so as to render them subject to control by the will of another master; and this in such manner and to such extent that the new master shall stand in the same relation to his slave, &c., *in omnibus rebus* as the former master stood."

In this definition we have perhaps yielded more to the opponents of slavery than we ought to have yielded. It is well known that in regard to all the relations just enumerated, the right of transfer has been asserted and enforced. But as this is not true here and our main purpose is with American domestic slavery, we shall content ourself with

the definition given and will let those who decry slavery make the most of it.

No one will dispute the moral rectitude of the relations of guardian and ward, master and apprentice, parent and child. Not even the fanatical assertors of woman's rights will call this in question or will doubt that these several relations involve subjection on the one hand and control on the other. This being granted, it only remains to justify the other element in American slavery to vindicate the *rightness* of the institution. That other element is the *right of sale of the slave and his posterity*. Granting, as we have done for the sake of the argument, that the right of sale or of transfer is not involved in the other relations spoken of, is this right such an evil as to tinge with turpitude and moral wrong the relation of master and slave while the other relations are morally right. This is a question, not of sentiment, but of sober fact. It is a question with which reason ought alone to deal. For its proper solution, we must bring it to the test of practical experience. The discussion of the question involves but two elements; the right of transfer of the slave himself, and then of his posterity. Let us put the first in another form. If the right to control Catharine's services as a slave is reposed in A., does A. wrong Catharine by transferring that right to B?

If B. be more humane and generous than A; more cautious in inflicting punishment and more faithful in requiring the discharge of duty, Catharine is advantaged by the transfer and has no cause to complain.

And if B. be less humane and generous than A. it would still remain with Catharine to show that she is entitled, of natural right, to be treated with the humanity and generosity of A. before she could complain of the transfer.

Again: even though she prove this, it would yet admit of grave doubt whether the right of *transfer* does not lie behind the question of ill or good treatment on the part of the master, and whether it should not be determined without regard to it, either in one direction or the other; for the right to control one's services involves the right to bestow them upon others, unless, cotemporaneously with the origination of the former right, or subsequently to its origin, the latter right has been taken away.

This has been in substance admitted by one of the leaders of the anti-slavery hosts.[1] Then, as regards the *posterity* of the slave. Can there be any doubt that if the master *ex virtute magistri* may claim the posterity of the slave, the person to whom he sells may do the same, without wrong? This being true, has the master any right to the *posterity* of his slave? To ask the question is to answer it, if we look to what is involved in the plain letter of its terms. Concede that the slave is rightly the master's and you concede that any hindrance or incumbrance to his discharging due service for his master should as far as practicable be accounted for to the master. This rule would in the case of the parent slave, secure on the ground of loss of service a title to her child. Add to this the further confirmation of this title, by the actual expenditure of means for its support by the master and by its otherwise strange and anomalous position, itself free while its parent is a slave, and you have an argument, as it seems to us impregnable, for the continuance of the relation in the case of the child. This reasoning itself advantages the child of the slave; for if you successfully deny the right of the master to the services of the child, you cut off all occasion of kindness and care on the part of the master toward it, you beget disaffection and insubordination

on the part of the child to its parent, and in the end you must thrust it into the struggle of life with no means of self support and having no claims for help upon those who could afford it assistance. The legal maxim which declares that the child shall inherit the condition of the mother is thus found to be the dictate of common sense and common reason; and strange, passing strange would be the philosophy which should teach that while one, of right, might control the services of the parent, and might lawfully transfer that right to another, he might not exercise in any case the same right in regard to the posterity. The entire question thus resolves itself into the question first mooted—has a master a right to the services of his slave? Or this other, its equivalent:—does the relation of master and slave necessarily involve moral wrong?

In not meeting the question of the right of sale, some may regard the work of Dr. Smith as defective. We hope he will discuss this question in a future edition. We have briefly hinted the line of argument we should pursue. It might be amplified and extended.

It is almost a work of supererogation, since the masterly argument of Dr. Fuller, in his letters to Dr. Wayland, to drag forth to light again the favorite objections to American slavery urged by the author of the Moral Science and his coädjutors. That argument is so conclusive, that but little if any thing can be added to its strength; yet, as these objections are reiterated in every possible form, no work, or even essay, on the topic would be complete without replying to some of them.

The favorite dogma that all men are born free and equal, in addition to its being a palpable untruth, is neither credited nor acted upon by its assertors. We cannot refrain from citing an example to illustrate the lack of faith in

this dogma as a rule of action. A few years ago, the entire country was agitated by the disclosure that, in a Northern city, not far from the walls of a classic and collegiate institution, an infant of scarce three years of age was kept under painful restraint by its parent, and not permitted for two or three days to taste its food. The child had disobeyed its parent. Its will must be subdued. It must become subject to the control of the father, or else its ruin would be precipitated. Hence the stern mandate, and the sterner execution. The child was debarred from eating or drinking until it confessed its fault. At length it relented; the error was confessed; and the tender but faithful parent clasped the child to his embraces. Rumor states that father was the Rev. Dr. Wayland, the author of the Moral Science, and the defender of the doctrine that all men are born free and equal! Did he credit the dogma? If the child had been his slave, would he have acted differently? The case of the child illustrates the inequality between the parent and itself. A like inequality, or one similar to it, is found to exist in other relations of life, and is, in fact, inseparable from existence. We will quote the language of our author in the discussion of this objection. It is a clear and complete vindication of the position that we have assumed, while it discloses the American source of this doctrine of human equality, and exposes its corrupting influence:

"Until within a few years past, the dogma, that all men are born free and equal, was stereotyped in all the text-books of the country—from the horn-book to the most eminent treatise on Moral Science for colleges and universities. From the days of Jefferson until now, it has been the text for the noisy twaddle of the 'stump politician,' and the profound discussions of the grave senator in the Congress of the United States. If this dogma, as it gen-

erally exists in thought, be true, it will follow, that any and every abridgment of liberty is a violation of original and natural right—that is, inalienable right. Hence every system of slavery must be based upon a false principle. The popular sense in which this language is generally understood, from father to son, is evidently the literal sense. But taken in this sense, the doctrine is utterly false. For men are born in a state of infancy, and grow up to the state of manhood; and infants are entirely incapable of freedom, and do not enjoy a particle of it. They *are* not, therefore, born equally free, but in a state of entire subjection. They grow up, it is true—if they be not imbeciles—to a degree of mental liberty, that is, the liberty of arbitrary volition in the plain matters of *right* and *wrong*, and hence are accountable; but the degree of this liberty, or how far they are thus mentally free, depends upon the accident of birth, education, and numerous coincident circumstances, which destroy all equality of mental freedom; and as to *equality* in other respects, it is scarcely a decent regard to the feelings of mankind to affirm their equality. They are not *physically* equal. No two men will compare exactly in this respect. They are not *politically* equal. The history of all human governments, throughout all time, shows this. To be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' in unequal and subordinate positions *to the few*, has been the lot of the great mass of mankind from the days of Adam. But, says the 'socialist,' [to whom the doctrine is far more creditable;) 'this latter is precisely the state of things we deprecate, and affirm that such was never the intention of the Deity, but that it is his will that there should be no such inequality among men; that his will is in itself *the right;* and what it is his will we should be, it is *right* for us to be, and it is our right *to be;* and that system which makes our condition other than this, deprives us of our rights.' This is the philosophy of socialism.

"Now it is true that much of the inequality of condition among men is owing to an abuse of the superior power which intelligence confers upon the few; but this admis-

sion does not advance the cause of socialism. For if it were allowed that the will of God is the only rule of right—that is, in itself *the right*, instead of this, that which in itself is *the right* is the will of God—it will not help the argument. For, on this hypothesis, the will of God is the only rule of right, as on the other it conforms to the only rule of right; so that on either, the will of God may be taken as a certain rule of right. What then does he will? In regard to the present subject of inquiry, we can only judge what he wills from that which he has done. Now we have seen that he has not endowed the souls of men with equal capacity, nor has he even placed them in circumstances of providential equality, favorable to an equal development of the unequal capacities he has given them. Superior intelligence is the condition of inequality. Where this exists, there is essential inequality, and practical inequality cannot usually be avoided. Hence *superior* and *inferior* and cognate terms, are found in all languages, and the conditions they represent are found amongst all people. Hence inequality among men is the will of God; and if his will is the rule of *our rights*, we have no abstract right of equality. It is rather our duty to submit to that inequality of condition which results from the superior intelligence or moral power of others. Superior physical power may, for a time, give us the ascendancy; but things will find their level. Superior intelligence will ultimately bear its possessor to his destined eminence. A state of oppression is not one of *inequality* merely. It is one in which superior intelligence has degraded and afflicted those in rank below it, in an inferior condition; or it is an instance in which, by the aid of brute force, those of inferior condition have, for a time, risen at the expense of those of superior intelligence. If we are oppressed, in either of these ways, we have a right to complain, because our oppressors violate the will of God concerning us—violate our rights; but we have no right to complain of *inequality* merely. Inequality is the law of heaven. He who complains of this is not less *unwise* than the prisoner who frets at his condition, and chafes

himself against the bars and bolts of the prison which securely confines him!

"But if the dogma in question cannot be made to serve the cause of truth, it has often been made to serve the cause of policy. Many there are who have not scrupled to use it as a tocsin to call together a clan, not their inferiors merely, but so degraded in their inferiority, that, for the price of being honored with the distinction of '*free and equal fellow-citizens*,' they have been ready as menials to bow their necks to their masters, debase themselves, dishonor the state, and insult Jehovah!"

Of a character similar to the dogma just considered, are these: "*All men are created equal;*" "*All men in a state of nature are free and equal;*" or, as these dogmas have been recently expounded by Dr. Wayland, "The relation which men sustain to each other is the relation of *equality;* not equality of *condition*, but equality of *right.*" All of these are amenable to the charge of confusion of thought, and might be readily dismissed with the remark that, so far as the mind is capable of grasping the ideas sought to be expressed by them, they are palpably untrue; while in regard to that which lies beyond the power of mental conception, their truth or untruth would be equally fruitless.

But let us attempt an exposition of the fallacies wrapped up in these indefinite and almost indefinable objections to slavery. What is the state of nature spoken of? The time has been when political philosophers fancied such a state, in which there was no law or government; when there were neither domestic nor civil obligations; when man, primeval and disintegrated, was left to himself to work out alone the problem of a separate existence; but these fancies have passed away and it is now not questioned by any sober mind that such a state of disintegration and isolated self-government never in fact existed. The relation of the

family has always been found, since that happy hour when Eden owned a master and mistress:

> "As hand in hand they passed, the loveliest pair
> That ever since in love's embraces met:
> Adam, the godliest men of men since born,
> His sons; the fairest of her daughters, Eve."

The marital relation was not the fruit of sin, nor do we suppose the subjection of the wife to her liege lord the infliction of a curse upon the woman. In a state of nature, then—for if this be not the state of nature sought after, we should be a loss to find it elsewhere—there was found an example of inequality. In the case of child and parent, too, which grew out of the family relation, there was involved, as we have seen, a like inequality. Doubtless, to avoid the force of these truths, the dogma of equality was expounded to mean, not "equality of *condition*, but equality of *right*."

Let the author of this exposition expound his own definition. "Each separate individual," he remarks, in illustration of his statement, "is created with precisely the same right to use the *advantages* with which God has endowed him as any other individual." Who doubts the truth of this truism? If this is what is meant by "equality of right," in what manner does slavery militate against it? The slave has the right, as his master, to worship his God, and to use all the advantages with which God has endowed him. No one will or *can* abridge or impair this right. But what are the advantages with which God has endowed him? In a state of slavery, by virtue of his relation to his master, the slave is under obligations which both the law of God and right reason, always in harmony with that law, sanction and enforce. Has the slave the right to dis-

card the relation, or to refuse to perform the duties growing therefrom, any more than the child has the right to reject parental restraints, or the wife to discard the law of her husband? Does not the very right which God has given the master, "to use the advantages with which God has endowed *him*," require that he should control his slave and demand of him the fulfilment of his duties? There is no necessary "equality of "*condition*"—that is admitted. If there be not involved equality of condition, the one must be superior and the other inferior; and that superiority and inferiority running, in the case of the master and slave, *in the same line*, in the idea of superiority, in such case, is involved the right of the superior to control; and in the idea of inferiority, in such case, is involved, as reciprocal to the right of the master or superior, the obligation of the inferior to obey. Have we not here, then, all the conditions of slavery fulfiled and expounded in the definition of the author?

But again: In affirming that by the equality of man with man is meant equality of *right*, and not equality of *condition*, the author of the Moral Science aims an effectual blow at the theory of his coädjutors, who insist that because men are equally free they have equal *rights*. If he meant to assert that all men are "*equally free*," or of right ought to be, would he not have defined the equality he insisted on as an equality of *condition?* What is *freedom* but a state or *condition?* And if, as the author of Moral Science asserts, the equality to which he refers as that to which all men are entitled is not *an equality of condition*, how can he deduce from his premises that *freedom* is the thing to which all men are entitled?

This reasoning may be charged with being mere special pleading. But is it so? Where is the fallacy? what trip

is there in the argument? what unfair deduction? If there be any such, we lack the perspicacity to perceive it. The fact is, this admission of the writer on Moral Science admits away all the argument against the institution of slavery. It was designed to avoid the unpleasant inferences and to avert the force of the arguments which would be deduced from the other relations of life above spoken of; and, as usual in the case of ingenious and artful devices to turn aside the power of truth, the author has found himself in a worse dilemma than that from which he wished to escape.

It becomes us to be modest in treating of the lucubrations of the author of Moral Science; but if we were compelled to express an opinion on the subject, we should say, that the definition of the writer is one of those ingenious specimens of word-monging, in which the language used, while it appears to have the shadow of a meaning, serves, in fact, to obscure, and not to enlighten. We have no doubt the author of the Moral Science fancied he had a meaning in the jargon he uses; but it was only a fancy. If it had a meaning, as we have shown, it is one which opposes rather than confirms his position. We are inclined to think it has none.

In a previous article, the poison was extracted from the arrow which had been drawn so frequently from the anti-slavery quiver. We then showed that the law which enjoined us to "do unto others as we would have them do to us," required the American slaveholder to continue in a state of slavery his African slaves, so long as they were incapable or incompetent to sustain or govern themselves. We shall not stop here to add to the arguments then adduced, though they might be easily enlarged upon and extended. Dr. Wayland has waived the necessity of such a

discussion in the remark that "whether slaves at the South are competent to self-government is a question of *fact*, which it is not the province of moral philosophy to decide!" With such an admission of the want of jurisdiction over the only *practical* question at issue between the North and the South, it is surprising that the Doctor had not, from sheer policy, waived the discussion of slavery altogether. It is the more surprising that he should have attempted the subject among the class of "Practical Ethics!"

We now approach the Gibraltar of abolitionism. It is objected to us, that we do not teach our slaves to read and write; that we are excluding from them light to which they are fairly entitled; that we are depriving them of the right to read the Bible; that we are interfering with their moral and social elevation; and, being guilty of keeping them in a state of barbarism, that we plead that very barbarism in vindication of our policy. The answer given to this objection by Dr. Smith is so full and conclusive, that we would give it space if we had room. We shall content ourselves with condensing what he has said, adding, in brief form, to the reply of the Doctor, what has occurred to our own mind in relation to the subject.

We will admit that, in very frequent examples, in individual instances, intellectual training would unquestionably exert a wholesome influence upon the moral and social condition of the slave. In such instances, it would possibly promote his happiness and usefulness. But we deny that such would be the result in the mass. Besides the utter impossibility of effecting universal education among the negroes, in the act of teaching them to read and write, we should create for them wants which their social condition would not enable them to secure.

Thus an impatient and restless spirit would be engendered, creating disaffection and insubordination, and, as the result, the security of the white race might require the extermination of the black. With such evils in full view, we should be untrue to ourselves, and should violate one of the plainest dictates of humanity, did we invite by our action such a catastrophe. Admitting that the institution of slavery, as found among us, is barely a necessitated evil—and as far as this every well-balanced Northern mind has gone—this reasoning would be sufficient to answer the objection raised.

But, farther: we do not cut off from our slaves the right of religious instruction. We are not interfering, by the statutes which prohibit them from being taught to read and write, with the proper discharge of the duties they owe to man or to their Maker. The facts will testify that a very large portion of them have not been deprived of religious influences; and judging by results alone, it might well be questioned whether the white race enjoyed superior religious advantages.

Again: the *domestic* element in the system of American slavery is probably as opportune for the development of all the powers of the slaves—taken in the mass—as any other scheme of instruction or enlightenment. In a brief period of time, they have undergone such rapid changes in civilization, as demonstrate, beyond question, the happy influences which have been at work in their improvement. "Upon this element of slavery," says the learned author of the work before us, "the policy of the South relies, as the *natural*, the only safe, and ultimately the effectual means of the intellectual and moral elevation of the African." The remarks he submits in this connection are so forcible that we cannot forbear quoting a part

of them. He clearly demonstrates that this is the natural method of civilizing the African race among us:

"It is the *natural* way; that is, the way adapted to their condition as an inferior and naturally distinct race, who, both on account of the physical facts which constitute them a distinct race, and the low state of civilization (if it may be called civilization at all) which they have yet been able to attain, should not be admitted to a social footing by intermarriage with the superior race.

"In a former lecture, it was demonstrated that an uncivilized race, dwelling in the midst of a civilized community, had *no right* to social equality, and, for a still stronger reason, *no right* to political sovereignty in such a community. It was also shown that their natural rights entitled them to *protection*, and reasonable provision for their *improvement*, and, as in the case of minors, to such '*authoritative control*' as is best calculated to preserve their power of self-action—their power of volition—from that enslavement to the baser passions of depraved nature, which is destructive to all true liberty, and the most degraded and ruinous form of slavery—subjection to the Devil; in comparison with which, a physical subjection to a fellow man, in civilized life, with a power, defined by law, only to control his time and labor to a reasonable extent, is a paradise. These, we of the South say—are their *natural rights*—the good to which they are entitled in virtue of their humanity. Now as these rights are in their nature relative, they imply the *duty* on the part of the civilized race amongst whom, in the providence of God, they dwell, to afford them both the *protection* and *control* in question. Their DUTY, in these respects, is clearly reciprocal with the *rights* of the Africans. They can no more omit these duties to the blacks with impunity, than they can do so to the minors and imbeciles of their own race. Now what form of control will more naturally or appropriately fulfil the conditions of this problem? They are to exercise the *sovereign* control: all political freedom is denied the blacks by their condition. They have no right to it. It

is not, to them, the essential good. Their *rights* lie, as in the case of imbeciles of any other race, in being governed, not in governing themselves, in those matters which constitute the objects of civil government. To exercise this sovereign control of the blacks, and at the same time afford them the *protection* and *improvement* which are appropriate to a necessary condition of slavery, or state of subjection to such sovereign control, is the solemn *duty* of the superior race. The position here advocated is, that the *domestic* element of the present system in operation amongst us, affords a more perfect guaranty that all the conditions of this problem will be fulfilled, than could be effected by any other system, or by the proposed modification of the present system. The element in question constitutes for them an invaluable school of instruction—a school in which both the mental and moral nature is developed. A school for the formal instruction of the blacks in letters, we have seen, would operate only to defeat the end proposed by its establishment. To govern and protect them, and at the same time make them useful to themselves and to society, by a system of military police, could find but few if any advocates, even among the visionary. But what more natural than to accomplish all these objects, by a system which distributes them in small numbers through the different families of civilized life? Here they are brought into immediate connection with much that is calculated to develop the mind, cultivate the moral sense, and train the will to the habit of obedience to its high behests. The law confers upon the head of the family the same right to direct and appropriate the time and labor of the blacks, that he enjoys in the case of his children—and no more. The period of time to which this authority extends, differs in the one case from that of the other; but this is the only difference known to the law. Great abuses of this authority sometimes occur in the case of the blacks; but the same is occasionally true of parental authority in all parts of the civilized world. The former may furnish a fit theme for the perverted genius of Mrs. Harriet Stowe. The fruit of such a genius may

have a poetry—of its kind; but it can lay claim to neither philosophy nor common sense. The same force of logic which is hurled against the authority of the master, rakes the authority of the parent in the line of its fire, with an effect no less destructive. Both are equally necessary; both are equally protected by law; and both are open to great abuses. The poetry which invests these abuses with the show of argument against the authority of the master may cater to the corrupt taste of both the 'great vulgar' and the 'little vulgar;" but it is the same cormorant appetite which is fed, that leads the *mere* 'readers and cipherers' of the land to turn aside from those valuable productions so appropriate to their real wants, and delight themselves in tragic stories of murder, arson, and rape, from the perusal of which they rise with passions inflamed to crusade against the morals of society. Christianity sternly rebukes the abuses complained of; and equally condemns that perversion of genius which employs those abuses to currupt the public taste and the public morals. As far as Christianity prevails, the civil law which requires humanity in the exercise of domestic authority, no less in the case of the child or the apprentice, is sanctioned, and in cases demanding it, is duly enforced by public opinion and sentiment. In all communities in which Christianity is the presiding influence, African slavery must, therefore, be a mild form of domestic servitude. It even contributes in a measure to a knowledge of letters. Many servants are raised by their associations with civilized life to a desire to read the Word of God. The domestic relation often supplies them with the means of gratifying this desire. Many pious slaves read the Word of God as a part of their family worship; and instances are not wanting of those of whom it may be said, they 'are mighty in the Scriptures.' Such are the tendencies and capabilities of domestic slavery as a system recognized by law; and apart from those abuses which all good men deplore—no less in the case of the slave than in the case of the child and the apprentice, who are no further protected from inhumanity by the provisions of law than is the

slave. Hence this system is the natural way of protecting, improving, and governing the African for the mutual benefit of society. It is evidently indicated by Providence. No other can be appropriate to a mass of population who can never be politically free in our midst, for the reason that, in the order of Divine Providence, they never can amalgamate with us."

Our author has said enough, we think, to justify the action of the slaveholding States of the confederacy, in refraining to instruct, for the present at least, their slaves in letters. But let this matter be determined as it may, it does not essentially determine with it the character of American slavery: it does not settle whether American slavery is either wrong or right. If it be consistent with a wise regard to the reciprocal rights and obligations of master and slave, that slaves should be taught to read and write, if such training will not interfere with the due discharge of the duties growing out of the relation, no Southern master would hesitate to bestow it upon his slaves. Self-interest, no less than benevolence, would prompt to the gift. But if it be true, on the other hand, that these rights would be interfered with, and that the discharge of duties on the part of servants would be hindered by it, it would be equally the right and the duty of the master to refuse the gift. At any rate, with or without schooling, we are not amenable to the charge of keeping our slaves in a state of barbarism. We have seen that they daily come in contact with civilizing influences, which are working their way not the less powerfully because less noisy and pretentious; and we may add, that the state of the African slave now, as compared with his state at his entrance into this favored land, denotes a higher degree of improvement and more rapid strides towards civilization

than many of those who weep so piteously over his sad fate, and speak in terms of harshness and severity of his tyrannical and covetous, and cruel masters.

We have not yet fully cleared away from the question the rubbish which has been accumulating upon it in its discussion; but to answer in detail the thousand objections which a distorted ingenuity has contrived to urge against American slavery, would be a tedious and unprofitable task. We have taken what we believe to be the strongest points urged by the opposers of slavery, and having answered these, are content that the rest of the defensive part of the warfare should be judged of by the sentence which shall be pronounced on those already treated of. We turn now to another aspect of the question.

American slavery has its strongholds, which no arguments yet urged have overturned; and we must have greatly underrated the prowess of the assailants, or have overrated the strength of these bulwarks, if any can be presented to destroy them. Look, for example, to the conservative elements of the institution. It is a notorious fact, the verity of which will hardly be questioned at this day, that the Southern States of this union, in which domestic slavery is found, are almost immeasurably beyond the North in point of sober and thoughtful conservative regard for what is the true support of the religious and social institutions of our people. Without arrogating to ourselves more than we can justly claim, we may declare our freedom from the infections of that moral poison which has spread its deadly influence through almost every vein and fibre of Northern society. We are free, thank Heaven, from the putrid corruptions of "new-lights," "free-love," socialism, agrarianism, and the like. If, perchance, a

stray branch of these Upas trees has fallen in our midst, it has met with an ungenial soil, and has perished and died, leaving no trace behind to mark either its entrance or exit. To what are we to attribute these facts? Shall we say, that it is because we have not yet encountered the tide of fury and rampant fanaticism which, like another Vandalic descent, has poured out from foreign lands upon the northern part of our own? We owe the exemption to the fact that we have had always at home a class to fulfil our menial offices, and this has kept off the class of immigrants which infect and infest our neighbors. Will it be said that the mind of the South is not as active as the Northern mind, and, therefore, neither restless nor impatient of restraint; and new thought does not, for that reason, give so early an impression here as there? If by new thought and an active mind are meant a greedy gaping for novelty, a rush for the unknown and unknowable, a disregard of the old because it is old, and a love for the new because it is new, we admit the fact, and pray to be delivered from the day when mind and thought shall thus run riot in our midst. But if by activity of mind and novelty of thought are meant a prudent and proper exercise of the mental powers, and a readiness to adopt what is valuable, whether new or old, then we claim for our social system sufficient activity for these purposes, and challenge proof to the contrary. We will cheerfully admit that, in the aggregate of wealth and of activity, the North, with its vast and teeming multitudes, surpasses us; but we do not admit, because we do not believe, that a comparison of her average wealth with our own would show any superiority on her part. On the contrary, we can demonstrate the reverse, and, at some future period, will endeavor to do so. But admit, however, the case to

be otherwise; admit that the average wealth of the North surpasses ours; admit, further, what her writers so frequently affirm, that we are to attribute this inferiority to the institution of slavery; we shall still be able to contend successfully, that while slavery has entailed on us this single evil, its benefits have vastly more than compensated for the loss. A record of the crime and lunacies—not to say, of the frauds and treacheries—inseparable from free society, would disclose to us what we have saved and what we have gained by this simple patriarchal relation. If it had effected no other good than relieving us from the immigration of paupers and convicts, and driving from our midst the fruitfully pernicious systems of infidelity and socialism that prevail at the North, (and would prevail here in the absence of slavery,) we are more than compensated.

A characteristic feature of the work before us we have thus far failed to notice. It is an important one, and we are gratified that, in the discussion of the subject, the writer has not overlooked it. In the concluding lecture of the series, he treats of the relative duties of masters and slaves. Vast interests are at stake, depending on the proper discharge of the obligations imposed upon the master, and on the cheerful and hearty obedience of the slave. These interests it is the duty of the master, as the superior and more intelligent and instructed party to the relation, to foster; and our author has here given, in brief compass and in clear and compact form, a manual which should be the guide and glory of every Southern slaveholder. Dr. Smith, however, fails to say (what we will now say for him) that the rights of the slaves and his true interests would have been better cared for and consulted, that masters would have been and would

now be more equitable, and would more faithfully and zealously have discharged their duties toward their servants, if their authority had not been interfered with by others.

We must not conclude the present article without dwelling more particularly on a point casually noticed in the beginning; that, is in relation to the false sentiment which has so long prevailed on the subject of slavery. The *argument* on the question is with the South. Reason and the Bible concur in support of the position that slavery, in some of its forms—that American slavery is right. But a false *sentiment* is against us. Our literature, domestic and foreign, has been corrupted at its sources. The twaddle about the wrongs of the African, and undiscriminating censure of his oppressors, pollute every channel of thought, and have taken shape in every form of literary development. The books we put in the hands of our children; the works on science or art we read; the lighter departments of poetry and *belles lettres*, are all so many vehicles of false logic and false sentiment upon the topic of American slavery. Cowper mourns over the wrongs of the slave; Shelley pours out a sad lament at his unhappy fate; while a host of lesser lights kindle their lamps at the altar of African wrong.

This has been witnessed long enough. The God of the Bible must be vindicated. Right reason must be enthroned. Facts, and not fancies, truth, and not falsehood, must be predominant. How shall we turn the tide of sentiment; how convince the world that we are not the sad tyrants it wots of? Weak and wicked would be the policy which should suggest the abandonment of the institution and the releasing of the slave. Justice to the slave demands his continuance in servitude. Our own safety and

the peace and harmony of the State require it. One other only resource is left us. We must convert the world to the truth: we must bring their minds back to the teachings of the pure Word of God; we must demonstrate His will, and thus create a sentiment in accordance with it. This result is not unattainable. The rapid spread of wholesome and truthful opinions on the topic, within the last ten years, demonstrates its feasibility; and though we may not hope to impress the leaders of the opposition with the truth of our convictions, we may divide the ranks of "The Many," and secure among them those who shall be valiant defenders of the truth; and share with us the glory or the shame of protecting American slavery. A practical field of usefulness and patriotism is here spread out before us. In every department of literature, of art, and of science, we are in need of laborers. Our logicians must prepare for the conflict of reason; our historians must record the facts; our preachers must preach the word; our teachers must instruct in the undeniable truth, so as to bring about this change of sentiment. And in due time the problem of American slavery will be solved by the Divine hand, and the result will show that the same God who blessed Abraham, the slaveholder, and Isaac his son; the God of Gerar, the God of Sinai, has had under his guardianship the interests of American masters and American slaves, and has wisely overruled for good the agitations of noisy disturbers of the public peace, and other unhappy efforts of honest (it may be) but misguided philanthropists and reformers.

MILBURN S LECTURES.*

From a brief sketch of Mr. Milburn's life, prefixed to his work, we gather the following facts. He spent his early childhood in Philadelphia. When but a boy, he entirely lost the use of one eye and was partially blind in the other. Despite this serious disadvantage, he has been a diligent and faithful student from boyhood to the present time. At 14 years of age, he was employed as a clerk in a store in some part of Illinois. Here he occupied his leisure hours in storing his mind with thought and by the aid of friends who read to him and his own exertions, unabated and untiring, he was prepared to enter a collegiate institution. At college his progress was rapid, and he was in a fair way to achieve distinction, when in consequence of close application, his health failed him, and "active life was prescribed as the only thing calculated to restore him to vigor." He began his public career as a Methodist minister, and labored for two years among the cabins of the West, "suffering almost incredible hardships."

"In the fall of 1845, he made his appearance in the Northern and Eastern States, as an advocate for the cause of education in the West, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm, not only on account of his intellectual

* *The Rifle, Axe and Saddle-Bags, and other Lectures.* By WILLIAM HENRY MILBURN. With an introduction by Rev. J. MCCLINTOCK, D.D., New York: Derby & Jackson. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co., 1857.

qualities, but also for his amiable disposition, and eminent social virtues. On his journey north, Mr. Milburn found himself on board of an Ohio river steamer, on which were three hundred passengers. From the number of days the passengers had been together, Mr. Milburn had become pretty well informed of their character, and he found most prominent among the gentlemen, were a number of members of Congress, on their way to Washington. These gentlemen had attracted Mr. Milburn's attention, on account of their exceptionable habits. On the arrival of Sabbath morning, it was rumored through the boat, that a minister was on board, and Mr. Milburn, who had up to this time attracted no attention, was hunted up and called upon to 'give a discourse.' He promptly consented, and in due time commenced divine service. The members of Congress, to whom we have alluded, were among the congregation, and by common consent had possession of the chairs nearest to the preacher. Mr. Milburn gave an address suitable to the occasion, full of eloquence and pathos, and was listened to throughout with the most intense interest. At the conclusion he stopped short, and turning his face, now beaming with fervent zeal, towards the 'honorable gentlemen,' he said; 'Among the passengers in this steamer, are a number of members of Congress: from their position they should be exemplars of good morals and dignified conduct, but from what I have heard of them they are not so. The Union of these States, if dependent on such guardians, would be unsafe, and all the high hopes I have of the future of my country would be dashed to the ground. These gentlemen, for days past, have made the air heavy with profane conversation, have been constant patrons of the bar, and encouragers of intemperance: nay more, the night, which should be devoted to rest, has

been dedicated to the horrid vices of gambling, profanity and drunkenness. And,' continued Mr. Milburn, with the solemnity of a man who spoke as if by inspiration, 'there is but one chance of salvation for these great sinners in high places, and that is, to humbly repent of their sins, call on the Saviour for forgiveness, and reform their lives.'

"'As might be supposed, language so bold from a delicate stripling, scarcely twenty-two years of age, had a startling effect. The audience separated, and the preacher returned to his state-room, to think upon what he had said. Conscious, after due reflection, that he had only done his duty, he determined at all hazards to maintain his position, even at the expense of being rudely assailed, if not lynched. While thus cogitating, a rap was heard at his state-room door, a gentleman entered and stated that he came with a message from the members of Congress—that they had listened to his remarks, and in consideration of his boldness and his eloquence, they desired him to accept a purse of money which they had made up among themselves, and also, their best wishes for his success and happiness through life.

"'But this chivalrous feeling, so characteristic of western men when they meet bold thought and action combined, carried these gentlemen to more positive acts of kindness; becoming acquainted with Mr. Milburn, when they separated from him, they offered the unexpected service of making him Chaplain to Congress, a promise which they not only fulfilled, but through the long years that have passed away since that event, have cherished for the 'blind preacher' the warmest personal regard and stand ever ready to support him by word and deed.

"'His election to the office of Chaplain to Congress, so honorably conferred, brought him before the nation, and

his name became familiar in every part of the Union. His health still being delicate, in the year 1847 he went south for the advantage of a mild climate, and took charge of a church in Alabama. For six years he labored industriously in Mobile and Montgomery, cities of that State, and in four years of that time, preached one thousand five hundred times, and travelled over sixty thousand miles.'

"In all his different spheres of ministerial labor, Mr. Milburn devoted himself to his work with the zeal and fidelity which so generally characterize the clergy of the Methodist Episcopal Church. But, as may readily be understood, his blindness was a great impediment to the due fulfilment of the pastoral function under the *itinerant* law of the Methodist ministry. The necessity of removing a growing family from place to place every two years was, of itself, too great a task; and, although Mr. Milburn's great power of endurance, and remarkable physical as well as mental aptitude for public speech, would make it easy for him to discharge the pulpit duties of a fixed and permanent change, no such permanency of the pastoral relation is compatible with the general system of Methodism. In the summer of 1853 he returned to New York, and fixed his abode there. Since that period he has devoted himself, first, to his great life-work, preaching the Gospel in such churches in the city as needed occasional service in addition to, or in place of, the regular pastorate; and secondly, to the delivery of public lectures."

He is now on a visit to London, where we are informed, his lectures have awakened considerable interest.* A few of these lectures compose the present volume. Besides the main one which has given name to the book, "Songs in the Night," "An Hour's Talk about Woman," and

* October 1857.

"French Chivalry in the Southwest," make up the residue of subjects to which he calls attention. These titles do not aptly represent the store of ripe thought, lively illustration and interesting biography with which the work abounds. The first lecture furnishes a graphic sketch of Bishop Bascom's early career. In "Songs in the Night," comprising some fifty odd pages, the writer has portrayed the triumphs of genius over blindness. Euler, Saunderson, Francis Huber, Augustin Thierry, Prescott and Milton are the chief portraits in this gallery of the famous blind. It lends almost a sacredness to these portraitures, that the sketcher is himself one of the number his pen has so aptly described. Mrs. Lloyd's lines close the lecture. We can not omit an opportunity to reproduce them. They are supposed to be written by Milton in his blindness and old age:—

"I am old and blind—
Men point to me as smitten by God's frown—
Afflicted and deserted of my kind;
Yet am I not cast down.

"I am weak, yet strong;
I murmur not that I no longer see;
Poor, old, and helpless, I the more belong,
Father Supreme, to thee.

"Oh, merciful One!
When men are furthest, then thou art most near;
When friends pass by, my weakness shun,
Thy chariot I hear.

"Thy glorious face
Is leaning towards me, and its holy light
Shines in upon my lonely dwelling-place,
And there is no more night.

"On my bended knee
I recognize thy purpose clearly shown:
My vision thou hast dimmed, that I may see
Thyself alone.

"I have nought to fear—
This darkness is the shadow of thy wing,
Beneath it I am almost sacred; here
Can come no evil thing.

"Oh, I seem to stand
Trembling, where foot of mortal ne'er hath been,
Wrapt in the radiance of that sinless land
Which eye hath never seen.

"Visions come and go—
Shapes of resplendent beauty round me throng;
From angel lips I seem to hear the flow
Of soft and holy song.

"It is nothing now,
When Heaven is opening on my sightless eyes,
When airs from Paradise refresh my brow,
That earth in darkness lies.

"In a purer clime
My being fills with rapture; waves of thought
Roll in upon my spirit—strains sublime,
Break over me unsought.

"Give me now my lyre,
I feel the stirrings of a gift divine,
Within my bosom glows unearthly fire,
Lit by no skill of mine."

There is at times in a single sentence of the lectures, a mine of thought. Of the difficulties attendant on the march of civilization the lecturer writes: "Human progress is a slow and toilsome journey. The caravan of humanity proceeds by short and painful stages!" We doubt

whether the idea here presented was ever more aptly expressed. Every word in these sentences is the representative of a distinct thought and "the caravan of humanity" embodies a world of meaning. Of character: "Who does not feel and know, that the divinest agency and force with which we are made acquainted, is character? A perfectly educated will, calms, controls, and directs others. It is higher than intellect, or any form of genius. It blends the strength of Feeling, with the serenity of Reason. It is harmony of nature, wherein the creature's will is subject to the Creator's, after tumultuous striving and long-continued endeavor. It is the one only thing we carry with us to the future. As it is, shall we be—blessed or accursed."

Speaking of Howard, he says: "his office was the *instauration* of modern philanthropy."

In this talent of concentrating in a single word or phrase a sublime or beautiful thought, Milburn reminds us of the pictorial power of the unhappy Hazlitt. See this power displayed in another phase in the following:

"I am assured that selfishness is the ruling law of life: that friendship is a name, and love a deceit.

"So have I not found the world or man. Will you accept my testimony on this point? It has fallen to my lot to travel as widely in this country as perhaps any man of my age. My wayfarings have taken me to the boundless prairies of the West, to the cotton plantations of the South, the farms of the Middle States, and the manufacturing towns of New England. My path has run by the margin of the Atlantic, on the shores of the great lakes, by the banks of the Mississippi, and along the verge of the Gulf. I have travelled by every means of conveyance, on foot and on horseback, in canal boats and in stages, on rail cars

and steamboats. Almost all my journeys have been prosecuted alone. My comparatively helpless condition has often thrown me upon the care of strangers. I have been obliged to appeal for assistance to gentlemen and loafers; to the negro slave or his master: to railroad conductors and to hotel landlords; to waiters and hack-drivers; to men represented as the coarsest and harshest of their kind. At times I have had no choice but to address men when in a towering passion, when their mouths were filled with oaths and blasphemy; and I have to say that never have I spoken to a fellow man—but once—saying that I could not see, and asking him to do the thing I needed, and been turned empty away.

"At this spell of the feeble, the hardest fibres of man's nature dissolve to the tenderness of a woman's and the gentleness of a mother takes the place of revolting coarseness and brutality. Such is the result of my acquaintance with mankind; a result, to which I believe it will be found upon examination, nearly all other persons partially or totally deprived of sight have been brought. Paradoxical as it may seem, the sightless man sees the best side of human nature—the blind man is an optimist. With all its faults and vices, with all its sins and crimes, there is ever to be found lurking in our nature a kindly sensibility, a genial helpful sympathy, towards those who are suffering and distressed; and those deprived of sight appear to me to share a larger portion of this holy treasure than any other class of the afflicted. Though the natural sun be blotted from their vision, human affection by its ministering care well-nigh replaces it. Though the universe of visual beauty be a blank, soft voices and kind hands create another, perhaps a lovelier world: for those who are thrown by calamity into the arms of Providence, Provi-

dence assures protection, and appoints angels whose changeless and gladdening office is to smooth their way and stay their steps, and yield guardianship and succor. The heavy-laden are dear to God; and man has not so utterly lost God's image as not to be kind to those whom the Father loveth."

This is a perfect picture.

Yet another example in which the author discusses the question "whether a blind man may be an orator?"—

"Excel as the blind may in literature, the magic wand of the great orator cannot be given to them. Shall I demonstrate my position? When you are engaged in conversation, is it not requisite, in order to the fullest interest and animation, that you have the tribute of your companion's eye? Is it possible for you to sustain a prolonged and exciting conversation, in a dark room? Can you make a friend or intimate of any person, who when you speak to him averts his glance? No, is the unmistakable answer to this question. Why? You come to your deepest acquaintance with others' sensibilities, whereby your own are kindled, through their eyes and your own. The sweetest and mightiest tie which binds us to each other—sympathy—whose glow kindles our enthusiasm, whose magic power enables us to transfer our life into another's life, to pervade our own imagination with another's being, reveals itself not through the poor ministry of words, but in the divine expression of the human face, which concentrates and glorifies itself in the electric flashing of the eyes. These orbs are the mirrors of the soul; the lights which kindle the fires of friendship and affection.

"Again; you are a public speaker. Suppose you are called upon to address an audience from behind a screen; or with your face turned to the wall; or with a bandage

across your eyes,—would your words have power, or your nature inspiration? Picture Demosthenes, or Clay, addressing an audience, they hanging breathless on his lips, when suddenly the lights go out. No poise of character, no self-possession, no absorption of the speaker in his theme is equal to such a crisis. No spell of eloquence is mighty enough to hold an audience together under such circumstances. There can be neither speaking nor hearing in the dark.

"What is the secret of the richest, greatest eloquence? Neither in finish of style, nor in force of logic, nor affluence of diction, nor grace of manner, nor pomp of imagination, nor in all of these combined, is it to be found. It may be accompanied by these—it may be destitute of them. It is in the man—feeling his theme, feeling his audience, and making them feel the theme and himself. He pursues the line of his thought; a sentence is dropped which falls like a kindling spark into the breast of some one present. The light of that spark shoots up to his eyes, and sends an answer to the speaker. The telegraphic signal is felt, and the speaker is instantly tenfold the stronger; he believes what he is saying more deeply than before, when a second sentence creates a response in another part of the house. As he proceeds, the listless are arrested, the lethargic are startled into attention, tokens of sympathy and emotion flash out upon him from every portion of the audience. That audience has lent to him its strength. It is the same double action which characterizes every movement of the universe; action and re-action; the speaker giving the best that is in him to his hearers, they lending the divinest portion of themselves to him. This tidal movement of sympathy, this magnetic action, awakening and answering in the eyes of speaker and hearer, by which

he is filled with their life, and they pervaded by his thought, is to me the secret and the condition of real eloquence; and clearly this condition is one unattainable by a man destitute of sight. His audience may yield him their deepest, holiest sympathies; yet how can he be made aware of this? Between himself and them a great gulf is fixed, over which no man may pass. His discourse is a soliloquy spoken to his own ear, his imagination the only guage which he possesses of the appreciativeness of his audience. His words may be beneath them, or above them; his thoughts may be lofty, almost divine; his convictions may reach to the very roots of his being; his voice may be sweet as thrilling music, and yet, so far as the last and highest requisite of eloquence is concerned, he might as well be speaking to the trees. His audience is not a reality, but only the product of his imagination. He is wholly incompetent to appreciate or receive any sympathetic response which they may be disposed to render him. Such inspiration as he may have is the influence of his subject upon his own mind and heart. The answer of the human eye, the mightiest quickener of eloquence, is forever withholden from him. Therefore, I have said that this sphere of power and distinction is shut up against him. The blind may achieve the laurel of the poet, the fame of the historian, but his hand can never wield the wand of enchantment which is given to the great orator."

We might multiply examples of this description, but we have given enough in proof of the freshness and vivacity of Mr. Milburn's style, and his peculiar power as a writer. He is not faultless. He has a great deal of power, but much of it is misdirected. He is forever aspiring after novelty, and in managing a trite topic, prefers to utter im-

perfect if not inaccurate views, rather than to follow the current and indulge in commonplace.

In the "Hour's Talk about Woman," Mr. Milburn surprises us by his liveliness of narrative, but we are not convinced by his reasonings, nor are we quite satisfied that he understands the questions he undertakes to discuss. Had he conducted us into an imaginative region—had he chosen to charm us with the romance of fairy land, we would have thought no marvel too marvellous,—no miracle too wonderful for faith in woman's power and woman's love. In such event he might have selected his examples from the highest forms of feminine loveliness and purity, and we should have implicitly accepted his illustrations. But abandoning these more inviting themes, the lecturer has addressed himself to the homely question—"how a woman who is obliged to work for bread shall get it?" The subject is a practical one and commonplace enough. Our lecturer felt it to be such, and in his effort to make his lecture interesting and entertaining, he has wholly failed to answer the question he propounds! He has committed, too, another blunder. He treats the disease he would remedy as if it were a national disease affecting alike all sections of the country. A very little observation would have taught him that it is principally confined to New York and a few other Northern cities.

That there is a higher sphere for woman than she occupies in these populous communities, when compelled to earn her own bread by the needle or some other industrial and poorly compensated pursuit, is unquestionable; and to the shame of these commercial centres be it written, that they have not lifted a finger for the relief of the victims of their civilization—that they have utterly failed to put indigent women upon the footing which our negroes occupy

and enjoy here. There is no necessity for the agitation of this question in the South. We utterly deny that the evil has its existence here to an extent justifying any intermeddling with it on the part of statesmen. Northerners, however, are all interested in the question. Amongst them, the remark of the lecturer is eminently truthful:—"Amid the rapid mutations and sudden changes of position and fortune, no man can tell how soon his own wife and daughters may be degraded into the garrets of the poor or numbered among the outcasts of society." To them it has become a matter of much moment how destitute females are to gain a livelihood at once respectable and decent, and the man who would succeed in devising apt means for the work; who would create a change tending alike to the good order of the community and to the well being of the class designed to be the objects of his bounty, must bring to his task profound study of the social relations of his people, a ripe and ample experience, a thorough knowledge of the counterworking forms of society, and a large and benevolent wisdom With all of these qualities he may fail—without them or any of them, he will certainly not succeed. There is no class of subjects requiring such delicate perception of what is morally right, such enlarged views of the varying motives of human conduct, and such intimate acquaintance with the springs of human action as these social topics which it has become the fashion in these latter times to discuss so empirically and with so much dogmatism. And woe be to the reforming hand that shall attempt to touch even what appears to be a defect in social machinery, without weighing accurately and justly its results upon the rest. Mr. Milburn, we have said, has propounded the question. He has failed to answer it. He attempts an

answer, but what it lacks in vagueness of specification is not supplied by particularity or pertinency of illustration. The three grand departments to which he directs the attention of woman are already occupied by her. Not we admit to the extent that they ought to be or must be, but yet occupied in some measure and with a willingness and aptitude opening up the prospect of yet further advances and attainments in these several directions. Literature, Society and Home are unquestionably woman's spheres—if she may enjoy them. But what becomes of the thousands who are without the culture or the capacity to improve the first, and who cannot attain either of the last? What shall become of the vast horde of workers who earn a scanty subsistence by daily and nightly toil—and who eke out a life of anxiety and care by the consumption of vital vigor, without relaxation or rest? To talk to these of literature—of writing for a livelihood—of weaving the pictures of fancy, is as idle mockery,—a satire and scorn upon their helpless fate and nothing more. These forlorn and destitute creatures may sing from the depths of lacerated hearts Hood's Song of the Shirt; they find it the echo of their own experience—but they may not, could not have written it. Is there no relief for this class?

Have the people whose social system has engendered and produced this extremity of indigence, nothing to furnish but an empty exhortation to "toil on" and an idle wish that brighter days may yet dawn upon the sufferers? Verily, it seems to be so. White slavery at the north (we are speaking of woman's slavery there) knows no abatement—no diminution. It has neither prospect for bread nor hope of long life. It looks forward to a perpetual bondage and would, (if it knew its true interests) willingly

exchange conditions with the Southern negro, that it might thereby gain a security from famine and an exemption from anxiety. Mr. Milburn thinks he has met the question fully by answering that "woman ought to be paid for her services at prices equivalent to men." This seems to be right; and we have no doubt that toiling women have learned the lesson before and have sought to obtain such an equivalent for their labors. But is it practicable? Constituted as Northern society is—is it possible to bring about this result? The plainest principles of political economy interfere to prevent it. The laboring man is by the nature of things compelled to ask a living profit for to labor. That he must have. Without it he cannot live or labor. But it is not so with the women. A large number engage in industrial employments who do not *rely* upon their labor for support. They eke it out by the surplus earnings of the husband. And this large class will work for any price, however small, rather than receive nothing. In competition with this class, must come those who are entirely dependent upon their own exertions for support, and the natural consequence follows: in the contest, they are compelled to work at a rate neither remunerative nor self-sustaining. What are these to do? Seek other channels of labor they cannot. The access to them is difficult and if they were reached there would be found the same state of things to exist and the same consequences to follow. Nor will it much better the matter to open to women different employments—to give them access to professional life or to the trades or other business occupations. Even were the women fitted for it, the same state of things would speedily ensue and in the race for wealth and for bread, the destitute would find themselves outstripped by those who might rely upon other hands than their own.

Again: it might be asked, what good consequences would flow, if these efforts succeed? Would it not be but lifting the burden of society from one class and imposing it upon another? We attempt no solution of the problem. We believe that the disease lies deep down in the heart of free society, and that a correct statement of its character will one day disclose its true source and discover the remedy. It is a matter of almost infinite gratulation to our Southern people that such a state of things is unknown among us—that every one here who in good health is willing to work for a livelihood may acquire it by an amount of labor not too exhaustive. Let the statesmen of free society determine if they can, how they shall satisfy the cravings of a hungry populace, or quell the outbreaks of an angry and desperate people when the disease under which they now labor shall develop itself in its more terrific forms. To this issue events are now hastening, and the wise and forethoughtful Northern statesmen should set themselves to work to ascertain the remedy and avert, if they may, these popular outbreaks.

We turn now to follow the discussion of the question as Mr. Milburn has propounded and answered it. He is evidently treating the theme to which he invites attention, as if the class of helpless females were not in any wise interested in the discussion. He has pointed out channels of labor for which the middle and higher classes of females are alone fitted.

In the departments of Literature, Society and Home, woman may find employment suitable for the unfolding of character and the development of her capabilities. In Literature, the position she already occupies is an earnest of what she may attain to hereafter. From the rapid progress she has made during the last half century, we may

confidently assert, that to maintain and secure their boasted intellectual superiority, the sterner sex will need to put forth all their powers. For a special department of literary effort, she is peculiarly fitted. We echo most heartily the opinion expressed by our author, that when a Library of Choice Reading for the Home shall appear, it will be found to be the product of woman's pen and heart. Society, too, has its claims. Not the thing of shreds and patches that calls itself such. Not the original of Curtis's caricatures, or of Thackeray's excoriations. Not the society that boasts itself of splendid array and brilliant equipage; that flounces in silks and flirts in brocades. But the society of the truly noble, gentle and pure; in which thought and heart are the masters, and form, and so-called Fashion shrink into their native diminutiveness of proportion. The society in which to do a good action lends a sweeter flavor to the life, and to utter a pure thought gives a charm to the conversation. The society of men and women, rather than of puppets and shams; of the gentle and the good, not of the vain and vicious. *This* society has its claims upon woman, and they are not slight. The society, which this is not, needs the reforming touch of woman's genius, before it can lawfully lay claim to its boasted title. Did woman always aspire to occupy the position for which nature designed her, society, ordinarily so called, would be quite a different thing from what it is. Woman would then be as little seen, and perhaps excite as little, or even less attention than now; but she would more surely secure the approbation of her own conscience, and receive more of true homage—would excite more respect and win less admiration. "The social life of the country is the reflected image of woman's character and culture." Men may rule "the court, the camp, the grove;"

they may dictate the statutes for the regimen of the State; their mere physical power may nerve its arm, and as counsellors they may give voice and aim to the wisdom of the nation; but after all, the social problems which are the subject and the origin of laws, the manners and customs of the people which originate and produce these laws are the product, directly or indirectly, of the women. It is no slight duty, then, to which woman is called, in the discharge of her offices to society. She finds it a thing of form, she should give it substance. She finds it a hypocritical sham and a pretence; she should tear aside the veil from hypocrisy and make it real. She finds it cold, without true sympathy, and selfish; she should make it heave with the emotions of earnestness, beat responsively to the calls of sorrow, and cause it to prefer another to itself. She finds it boasting of wealth, gloating in the splendor of its retinue and the pomp of its luxurious entertainments; she should make it rather rejoice in truthfulness and virtue, and adorn itself with quietness and humility. There is need for a mighty transformation here; and none but woman can work it. Satire and ridicule, man's weapons, will not avail. Men may raise up their hand against it, but they will fail. It rests with the women of the country, whether this change shall be wrought —whether we shall continue to be the subjects of shopkeepers and milliners, or whether we shall assert our rightful dominion, and become free; it rests with them whether earnestness in social life shall become the rule, and not the exception; it rests with them whether we shall continue to bear the bondage of the artificial forms of social life, or shall breathe freely in the open air of unrestricted and sincere discourse; it rests with them whether the houses of the wealthy shall become chiefly the theatre of

splendid entertainments for the vain and giddy, or the abodes of ripe learning and of useful and laborious, yet charming content. That this is not the condition of the present, is evident.

Our author has pictured this society as it appears upon the surface; he has not attempted to discover its "inner life," or to unfold all the corruptions that centre there; yet the picture is by no means flattering, or to be greatly admired. By far the majority of the members of these circles, styling themselves society, "are remarkable for their youth and inexperience." "Business and professional men, and officials (we quote the lecturer's language,) are so absorbed by their pursuits, or oppressed by labor, that they have little or no time for the recreation of friendly intercourse; and even when they attend a party, or enter the smaller group of the drawing room, they are either so jaded or so engrossed, that they scarce take any interest in the scenes and conversation transpiring about them."

"Manhood, (he continues,) therefore finds itself represented on these occasions by those whose youth disqualifies them, or whose indolence and incapacity unfit them for the professions or the mart. Sophomorical inflation, and punctilious regard to the state of the hair, moustaches and linen, and almost equally scrupulous disregard of good breeding and manly behavior, the affectation of little wickednesses and indulgence in great ones, with a fearful state of intellectual vacuity, may be accepted as the characteristics of these youthful gallants. Gentlemen of eighteen polk and flirt in our ball-rooms, talk all manner of indecency, perform all sorts of rudeness, and before the close of the evening are very probably so tipsy that they must be deposited under the table or carried home. Gentlemen

of one-and-twenty discourse to you gravely in the intervals of their pleasure-hunting, about the emptiness of life and the world; declaring that in their private opinion there is neither honor among men, nor chastity among women. They aver to you with a solemnity that amounts to drollery that they have seen the whole of life, and that they are now disgusted and *blases*. And yet at the next party—which by the way they are as eager to attend as the first one to which they were invited—they will empty a saucer of ice-cream under the table upon the host's Wilton carpet, in order to help themselves to chicken salad, and will gobble indiscriminately and extensively enough to impair the digestion of an ostrich. Seeming to realize that their virtue and brains reside in their heels, they give them ample exercise in the indecent motions of the 'fancy dances.' Now, however, that these affectionate forms of pastime between the sexes are falling into disuse, it is to be feared that our society will be robbed of many of its choicest ornaments. Ought not the charitable voice of the public to be raised in protest against the discountenance of these lately fashionable amusements? for what will become of the descendants of the heroes of the Revolution, if they are not allowed to display their only accomplishment?

"The conversation of society, amid the excited whirl of the ball, or in the quieter groups of the smaller re-unions, consists of idle gossip, idle tattle, and pernicious scandal. And these goodly staples of discourse are garnished with profane epithets and interjections, cant words and slang phrases, mumbled out in a half inarticulate style, and at frequent intervals choked by the speaker's laughing at his own smart things and queer conceits. This may be termed the general style of talk. The special kind is devoted to love-making; not a whit more elegant and refined, it is

more dangerous because more passionate. Neither wife, mother, nor maiden, are sacred in the eyes of these premature debauchees. With an affrontery that is only paralleled by their iniquity, they seek to flatter, cajole, entice and ruin women of every station in whose presence they are tolerated. How far—"

But we forbear to cite farther. If this be the society for which woman is being trained, it needs no seer to tell us she will be better off in a state of perpetual solitude and entire isolation. There is another sphere, however, in which she will often find the purity, the truly elegant attractions and the solid happiness which she may have sought for, but has never secured in society. The American, most of all the Virginian, ought to know what it is to have a *home*. The picture our author draws of New York domestic life we accept as a truthful portraiture, but it is not a model of Virginian homes. True enough, we are aping the extravagance and the insincerities of the chief commercial city in the country; and here and there, throughout the Southern portion of the Union, you may discover the tattered remnants of a mode of life derived from that abode of the magnificent, but in chief part, our Virginian homes to-day, are what they were in the grand old manorial days, when hospitality and good cheer—cheer from the heart and not from the lips—were the distinguishing characteristics of our people; when the father was not too grave or immersed in care to take part in the sports of his children, and when the mother looked to her progeny with affectionate oversight and cared more to have them registered among the truthful and sincerely pure, than to bestow on them an abundance of rich and fertile possessions. The "artificial and hollow form of domestic life," "growing out of the senseless and sensualized con-

ceptions of the people," is we hope, even yet mainly confined to the States in which the writer delivered these lectures. If it has invaded us, it is only in partial and exceptional examples; yet we confess the tendency of things is in the direction to which the author points. The boarding-house system and exaggerated views of the manner in which young persons are to enter upon marriage, though mainly felt abroad, are even here beginning to acquire sway, and unless speedily checked, unless the channels of social life be changed, we may not expect for any length of time to be relieved from these curses, which have so fatally sapped Northern society. "From whom," pertinently asks the author, "from whom have we a right to ask the initiation of reform? Who, by their constitution, their position in the family, the delicate pervasive influence with which they are endowed, may inaugurate a revolution and carry it forward to a successful termination? The child is father of the man; and the child's character is moulded by the mother. The nurseries of to-day contain the society and the state of the next generation; and in the child's world, woman's dignity and sway are regal."

In the following extract our author happily describes a true home-life, and sets forth its adaptation for the development of character:

"The great end of human existence and its divinest power is character, and no sphere is so propitious to its attainment as the home-life of woman.

"Is it needful that I vindicate this proposition? Her relation to her servants demands patience, prudence, long-suffering, self-control, and strength of will. Her housekeeping exacts diligence, watchfulness, punctuality, promptitude, thrift, management, method. With her children she must be thoughtful, gentle, firm; ever ruling her own

spirit, that she may govern them; self-possessed, yet sympathetic, blending dignity with grace, and tenderness with authority. Toward her husband she will have need to be generous, magnanimous, forgiving; to her guests urbane and gracious; to her neighbors obliging and helpful; to the poor, friendly and kind; toward the great, decorous yet self-respectful. When the family fortunes meet with reverses, and her husband is dispirited and crushed, from the more flexible and elastic nature should come the spring and vigor by which losses may be retrieved and success re-established. In prosperous affluence her serene spirit may shed the tranquil light of contentment and peace throughout the household. In the time of uttermost need and darkness, when man's hope faileth, and his best discretion is as folly, she may lend wisdom to his councils, and strength to his steps, a wisdom and strength which she has obtained from One who "giveth liberally and upbraideth not." No one so needs the guidance, comfort and succour derived from prayer as she. To no one is the mercy-seat more accessible. The multiplicity of details which constitute her daily care, it would seem can only subject her to perplexity and vexation, but herein is a school for mental improvement and development. The best powers of foresight, skill, combination and construction, may be employed in restoring the tangled web to order, where every thread shall find its appropriate place and every set of colors shall be assorted in a fit arrangement. Her perspicacity finds scope for exercise in reading the characters of her children;—and the action of intellect is never so healthful and beautiful as when impelled by beneficent sensibility. The little generalship of the family summons the best powers into alert and strengthening movement. The feebleness of infancy, the waywardness of youth, the open-

ing consciousness of her larger children, alike demand of her, vigilance, solicitude, self-poise and energy. When she is weary and well-nigh exhausted, how do the fires of her life rekindle as she beholds the merry sports and gambols of her darlings! The bloom upon their rosy cheeks, and the light of their sunny glances, bring back the lustre to her own eyes, and the unaccustomed blood to her wan face. In an hour like this she tastes of happiness, and surely no married flirt, no gay, worldly-minded woman ever experienced in quaffing the chalices of adulation offered to her vanity, such pure ethereal joy, as that which fills the true mother's heart in beholding the innocent gladness of her offspring. Their delight is to her as a well of refreshment in the valley of her pilgrimage. Her force of will is invoked that she may govern them; and her sweetest pity that she may pardon; a quick and tender conscience is required for the delicacy and responsibility of her trust. Faith is needed, for she guides the footsteps of heirs of immortality. Her work should ripen in her confidence in the germs of goodness which she plants in the soil of her children's nature, in the care with which she tends it, in the spiritual ministry, which shall guard it, and in the eternal providence which ensures the fruit of her labor. God stations the mother by the cradle and bids her yield her hand to guide the uncertain steps of childhood, that man's earliest years may have the presidency and control of one apt to teach, able to direct, and competent to bless him. The mother is called to a life of self-sacrifice, and is not this the true notion of life, embodying the highest conception of character? The greatest the world has known, whom men have taken for their teacher, hath said, 'He that would be great among you let him be the servant of all.'"

Notes and Illustrations.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

The patron genius of the Mr. Thomas Rowlie, whose curious and recondite manuscripts had lain for three centuries and upwards buried in a chest in the muniment room in the church, p. 13.

Chatterton began his publications concerning Rowley in 1769. The "Ryse of peyncteyne in England, wroten by T. Rowleie for Mastre Canynge" purported to bear date in 1469. Chatterton in his note to this account calls Canynge the founder "of that noble Gothic pile, St. Mary Redcleft church, the Mæcaenas of his time, one who could happily blend the poet, the painter, the priest and the Christian, perfect in each; a friend to all distress, an honor to Bristol and a glory to the church." The true history of this church is probably given in the account appended to the drawing of the church made by William Halfpenny and published in May 1746, by Benjamin Hickey, Bristol. "This church was founded by Simon de Burton, merchant, in ye 22nd year of ye reign of King Edward ye first. In the year 1446, the steeple of the said church was blown down in a great storm of thunder and lightning, which did much damage to the same, but was by Mr. Wm. Canynge, a worthy merchant, with the assistance of diverse other wealthy inhabitants, at a great expense, new covered, glazed and repaired," &c. The church contains, we are informed, two beautiful monumental statues of Canynge, in one of which he is habited as a magistrate, having

been Mayor of Bristol, and in the other, he is represented as a priest, having in his latter days taken holy orders.

But happy in my humble sphere had moved,
Untroubled, unsuspected, unbeloved. p. 23.

So in all the editions we have seen. A *lapsus pennæ*, perhaps. It probably read—"untroubled, unsuspected and beloved."

Sir Herbert Croft. p. 28.

The author of "Love and Madness" played a conspicuous but not very enviable part in giving publicity to Chatterton's effusions. Cottle gives us quite a minute account of the affair in his "Reminiscences of Coleridge and Southey."

The former of these poems has already called forth from a kindred poet, verses of exquisite tenderness and beauty. p. 46.

These verses are cited in the present edition of Chatterton's poems. They are the production of James Montgomery:—

"A dying swan of Pindus sings
In wildly-mournful strains;
As Death's cold fingers snap the strings
His suffering lyre complains.

Soft as the mist of evening wends
Along the shadowy vale;
Sad as in storms the moon ascends,
And turns the darkness pale;

So soft the melting numbers flow
From his harmonious lips;
So sad his woe-wan features show,
Just fading in eclipse.

The Bard to dark despair resign'd,
With his expiring art,
Sings 'midst the tempest of his mind
The shipwreck of his heart.

If Hope still seems to linger nigh,
And hover o'er his head,
Her pinions are too weak to fly,
Or Hope ere now had fled.

Rash Minstrel! who can hear thy songs,
Nor long to share thy fire?
Who read thine errors and thy wrongs,
Nor execrate the lyre?

The lyre that sunk thee to the grave,
When bursting into bloom,
That lyre the power to genius gave,
To blossom in the tomb.

Yes; till his memory fail with years,
Shall Time thy strains recite;
And while thy story swells his tears,
Thy song shall charm his flight."

Alas, poor Chatterton! p. 48.

In his will he bequeathes a friend a mourning ring with this motto.

The law books tell us that witnesses are to be sworn according to the peculiar ceremonies of their own religion, and in such manner as they may deem binding on their own consciences. This was a part of the civil law and is as well a part of the common law. p. 78.

1 Greenleaf on Evidence, § 371, note 2. Quumque sit adseveratio religiosa—satis patet,—jusjurandum attemperandum esse cujusque religioni. *Heinec. ad Pand,* Pars. 3, § 13, 15. Quodcunque nomen dederis, id utique constat, omne jusjurandum proficisci ex fide et persuasione jurantis; et inutile esse, nisi, quis credat Deum quem testem advocat, perjurii sui idoneum esse vindicem. Id autem credat, qui jurat per Deum suum, per sacra sua, et ex sua ipsius animi religione, etc. *Bynkers' Obs. Jur. Rom.,* lib. 6, cap. 2. Indeed, Mr. Jefferson, in the appendix to his Reports, has attempted to demonstrate that Christian-

ity formed no part of the common law; that the common law was in existence in England before the introduction of Christianity. If he has been successful, it is clear that the *oaths* required under that law were not necessarily *Christian* oaths: and if he failed, it would still not militate against the opinions expressed in the text.

In England, even before the laws removing the disabilities of the Jews, they were allowed to sit on juries; they were sworn as jurors; the oath they took was administered according to their own form of religious belief, and was never administered as a Christian oath. It is so here. p. 78.

The remark of Bishop Hopkins, that the "idea of a *jury* of Turks, Jews, or infidels, would be regarded in law as a pure absurdity," is not well founded—certainly so far as the Jews are concerned. Macaulay, in his article on the Civil Disabilities of the Jews, speaks of it as a thing conceded that the Jew might sit on a jury; and, in this country, no one has ever questioned the competency of a Jew as a juror. Authorities concerning an oath "in a Christian country" are conflicting. Some have gone to the extent of intimating that an oath upon the Gospels is the only form of oath recognized; others, that an oath should be administered according to the form of religious belief entertained by the witness. In a case which arose in 1742, before the Lord Chancellor of England, assisted by two Chief Justices and a Chief Baron, the Court admitted the testimony of *Gentoo* witnesses, who, according to their faith, before testifying, touched the foot of the Brahmin or priest, and complied with other ceremonies of their religion. The reader who is curious to trace the legal doctrine of oaths, will find a full discussion of the subject in the report of the case just alluded to.—*Omychund* vs. *Barker*, 1 Atkyn's Reports, 21.

These "servants" were slaves, and the passage should so have been translated. p. 85.

It is needless to cite numerous authorities. Consult Dr. Kit-

to's Pictorial Bible, *in loc.* and his "Daily Bible Illustrations." Seventh week, Saturday, title *slaves*. Fletcher in his Studies on Slavery amply demonstrates the true meaning of the Hebrew and Greek terms rendered 'servants' to be *slaves*.

It will be enough for the purposes of Southern slavery if the statutes we have cited, and other citations made, establish that slavery is not a malum in *se, is not an absolute and universal evil.* p. 91.

Dr. Barnes has shrewdly shifted the issue. In the larger part of his earliest work entitled "Scriptural Views of Slavery"—a most sad *misnomer*, by the way; it should have been christened quite differently—he argues as if it were incumbent on the South to establish that slavery *is an absolute and universal good*—a *bonum in se*. He will hardly find contestants on this proposition. What is a proper burden we will cheerfully bear. We are prepared to prove, and we think our writers have proven, that the *Southern Slavery of this Union is not an evil.* If Dr. Barnes will meet this question fairly, he will find it not so easy to maintain the affirmative side of the issue. We shall not object to scriptural tests. We invite them in the enquiry.

As to the proposition announced in the text. Surely nothing can be more clearly demonstrable than that if the Divine Author has thus sanctioned slavery, it cannot be an absolute and universal evil—a moral wrong, *per se*. It will not do to object to this argument that *polygamy* has also received the Divine sanction, and that that is such an evil. Let such objectors first prove that polygamy is such an evil—is a sin, *per se*, and we may then be prepared to admit the force of the objection. Finite beings ought to hesitate, before charging an all-wise and all-pure God with sanctioning or even tolerating iniquity. Any hypothesis vindicating his wisdom and justice is preferable.

This duty of obedience does depend on the justice of the authority which the master claims. p. 95.

A remark of Dr. Fuller in his Letters to Dr. Wayland. It

need scarcely have been made, and would not have been, had not the truth it affirms been doubted.

The right to control one's services involves the right to bestow them upon others, unless, contemporaneously with the origination of the former right, or subsequently to its origin, the latter right has been taken away. This has been in substance admitted by one of the leaders of the anti-slavery hosts. p. 158.

Dr. Wayland, in his treatise on Moral Science, asserts this doctrine in broad and distinct terms. While not agreeing with him in the illustrative case he presents, we do agree with him in the position he takes that the right of transfer is coextensive with the right to enjoy. The passage alluded to reads thus: "As the parent has supported the child during infancy, he has, probably, by the law of nature, a right to his services during youth, or for so long a period as may be sufficient to insure an adequate remuneration. When, however, this remuneration is received, the right of the parent over the child ceases for ever. *The right he may, if he see fit, transfer to another, as in the case of apprenticeship.* But he can transfer the right for no longer time than he holds it. He can, therefore, negotiate it away for no period beyond that of the child's minority." *Wayland's Moral Science,* Pt. ii., ch. i., § 1., p. 205.

The author is right so far as the essential principle he asserts is concerned; *i. e.*, that the right of transfer is coëxtensive and only coëxtensive with the right to enjoy; but he is unfortunate in his illustration. It is a matter of grave doubt whether the right to apprentice the child is in any measure derived from the right to the child's services which the parent may have or exercise. Certainly the parent does not derive his right to the child's services as a remuneration for having supported him during infancy. If this were so, a parent who is at charges for the support and education of his child during the entire period of his minority, would be entitled to the child's services for a sufficient length of time after he attains maturity to compensate the parent

for the entire charges he had been at. This, in some instances, would be equivalent to reducing the child to servitude for a lifetime. This concession of Dr. W. might thus be converted into an argument for enslaving the child; but we think the Doctor in error, and will not avail ourself of the concession. It is, we think, clear that the duty of the parent to control the child, and his obligation to provide for his child during infancy, and dispose of his services during his minority, are all designed for the advantage of the child, and not for the advantage of the parent or as remunerative to him. In promoting the child's interest, the parent is at liberty either to instruct him himself or to apprentice him to another. If this right to apprentice were founded upon the right to the child's services as a remuneration to the parent, in some instances the child before attaining maturity would have paid the debt, and the right to apprentice would cease; and in others, as already stated, the child would be subjected to the service of the father for the full period of life, and the father, in such case, could dispose of his services to the full end of the term. This would be unpalatable truth to Dr. Wayland. Does not the truth fall here? The relation of parent and child is a relation established by the Divine Being, the reciprocal duties of both parties to which relation are set forth in his written Word. They are, on the one hand, filial obedience, confidence, and reverence; on the other, paternal affection, oversight, and protection. In the discharge of these duties, it is incumbent on the child to submit himself to the superior wisdom and experience of the parent; and, on the other hand, it is incumbent on the parent to exercise for his child an affectionate watchcare, to provide for his nurture, and to control him for his advantage and best good. How very different the doctrines of the Bible and the teachings of moral science! The one resolves the problem of the parental and filial relation by a simple recital of what is necessary to be done by each party to the relation in order to secure the best good of both parent and child; the other, not content with this, in its effort to search out the

reason for the controlling power of the father, attributes it to one of the mere accidents of the relation itself—the charges the parent is at in the support of the child—the right of the parent to be remunerated for these. If this be true, the obligation of the scriptural injunction to the child to honor his father, and the duty of the parent toward his offspring, are mere matters of dollars and cents; and when the debt of the child is cancelled, the control of the father and the obedience of the child would rightfully cease!

ERRATA.

On page 13, line 27, read *three* in lieu of *four*.
On page 193, line 13, read *his* in lieu of *to*.
On page 193, line 14, read *to* in lieu of *or*.